# Hong Kong

## General Stuff

### AT: MWC

#### MWC Has A Pro-Government Bias; Plan Can’t Help Workers

A.F.P., 2010:

(Hong Kong Workers Demand Minimum Wage Law. Agence-France Presse. July 14, 2010.)

"Ironically, Hong Kong is now discussing the road to democracy. But how can there be democracy if workers' interests continue to be attacked by the big businesses?" said Eni Lestari, of the Asian Migrants' Coordinating Body. Labour rights groups have campaigned for a minimum wage law for more than a decade, but it was delayed by a government largely influenced by the city's powerful business elite. Although lawmakers are expected to pass the bill this week, pro-democracy politicians were critical of its effectiveness in protecting workers. One major criticism is that under the proposal, all members of the Provisional Minimum Wage Commission, a body tasked to fix and review minimum wage levels, will be government-appointed. "There are many serious flaws in this bill. Will the workers be better off with or without it? I have my reservations," said Ronny Tong, a Civic Party legislator.

### UE

Minimum wage increases interfere with free market capitalism in Hong Kong; this causes unemployment.

**Tupy 4** writes[[1]](#footnote-1)

**Hong Kong has been a beacon of free-market capitalism** for decades. The Economic Freedom of the World report, published by **the Fraser Institute** in Canada, **has ranked Hong Kong** as **the world’s freest economy since 1970**. Few people doubt that the free market served the people of Hong Kong very well: According to the World Bank, Hong Kong’s per capita income, when adjusted for purchasing-power parity, was $27,490 in 2002. That is $910 more than a comparable figure for the United Kingdom, Hong Kong’s former colonial master. Hong Kong’s unique transformation from a barren rock to one of the world’s richest countries serves as an inspiration to poor nations around the world. What is not unique is the struggle waged by those who wish to save Hong Kong’s free-market economy from political interference, which, though it is based on good intentions, is often harmful in practice. Hong Kong’s legislators, who wish to institute minimum wage, no doubt feel that they are benefiting workers. Indeed, some workers would see their incomes rise. But there will be unseen victims of the law–those who will either lose their jobs or will not be hired in the first place, thus contributing to the rise of Hong Kong’s 7.2 percent unemployment. **Wages**, like other prices in the marketplace, **behave according to** the laws of **supply and demand**. If prices go up, demand goes down. **When** the **cost of labor becomes more expensive, fewer people get hired**. Oversupply of labor, which increases when the cost of labor is higher than the market rate, is known as rising unemployment. In 1946, George Stigler, a Nobel laureate, pointed out that the minimum wage negatively affects the level of employment. Stigler’s view now enjoys near-total acceptance in the economic profession. The question, therefore, is not whether–but how much–the minimum-wage law would hurt the people of Hong Kong. To get an idea, let us look at the experiences with similar measures in the United States. The American minimum-wage law was enacted in 1938. The hourly wage was set at 25 cents an hour, or 40 percent of the actual average wage. Merely one year later, the federal government had enough data to conclude that between 30,000 and 50,000 people lost their jobs throughout the country as a direct result of the minimum wage. That was 65 years ago, and the minimum wage is still with us–having increased 20 times in nominal terms. Historically, the greatest impact of the law has been on workers with low skills. **Low-skilled workers compete for jobs with more skilled but better paid workers. Increases in** the **minimum wage, therefore, price low-skilled workers out of the** job **market**. That suits trade unions, whose primary concern is to protect the jobs of the existing, well-paid, and unionized laborers. However, uunionized workers only make up a small percentage of the labor force. As a result, minimum wages have had a disproportionately negative affect on young people and ethnic minorities. **A 1998 OECD study found that** a **10 percent increase in the minimum wage reduced teen**age **employment by 2 to 4 percent**. Those conclusions were similar to those of the federal Minimum Wage Study Commission, which found in 1981 that each 10 percent increase in the minimum wage reduced teenage employment by 1 to 3 percent. In addition, a 1995 study by the National Center for Policy Analysis found a strong correlation between fluctuation in the real minimum wage and unemployment. Because of inflation, the real minimum wage in the United States declined from $5.15 to $4 between 1983 and 1990. Teenage unemployment fell from about 23 percent to less then 15 percent over the same period. When the real minimum wage rose in 1991, teenage unemployment rose as well. Equally disconcerting is the effect that the minimum-wage law has had on black Americans. Between 1948 and 1995, the black-teenage-male rate of unemployment increased from 9.4 percent to 37.1 percent. The white-teenage-male rate of unemployment, however, only rose from 10.2 percent to 15.6 percent over the same period. As Walter Williams, an American economist, showed in his research of the United States and South Africa, the minimum wage increases black unemployment by diminishing the cost of discrimination. Profit-maximizing business owners hire more minorities with low skill levels and correspondingly lower wages. When the minimum wage eliminates price competition, racially discriminatory views are no longer offset by negative financial consequences and minority unemployment increases. Overall, the case against minimum-wage legislation in the United States is overwhelming. Hong Kong’s economy functions according to the same laws of economics and it is, therefore, likely that minimum-wage legislation there will result in unintended negative consequences and harm the very people whom it is supposed to help.

Minimum wage legislation causes minority unemployment.

**Tupy 4** writes[[2]](#footnote-2)

A 1998 OECD study found that a 10 percent increase in the minimum wage reduced teenage employment by 2 to 4 percent. Those conclusions were similar to those of the federal Minimum Wage Study Commission, which found in 1981 that each 10 percent increase in the minimum wage reduced teenage employment by 1 to 3 percent. In addition, a 1995 study by the National Center for Policy Analysis found a strong correlation between fluctuation in the real minimum wage and unemployment. Because of inflation, the real minimum wage in the United States declined from $5.15 to $4 between 1983 and 1990. Teenage unemployment fell from about 23 percent to less then 15 percent over the same period. When the real minimum wage rose in 1991, teenage unemployment rose as well. Equally **disconcerting is the effect that the minimum-wage law has had on black Americans**. Between 1948 and 1995, the black-teenage-male rate of unemployment increased from 9.4 percent to 37.1 percent. The white-teenage-male rate of unemployment, however, only rose from 10.2 percent to 15.6 percent over the same period. As Walter **Williams**, an American economist, **showed** in his research of the United States and South Africa, the **minimum wage increases black unemployment** by diminishing the cost of discrimination. **Profit-maximizing business owners hire more minorities** with low skill levels and correspondingly lower wages. **When** the **minimum wage eliminates price competition, racially discriminatory views are no longer offset by negative financial consequences** and minority unemployment increases. Overall, **the case against minimum-wage legislation in the U**nited **S**tates **is overwhelming. Hong Kong’s economy functions according to the same laws of economics** and it is, therefore, likely that minimum-wage legislation there will result in unintended negative consequences and harm the very people whom it is supposed to help.

Minimum wage increase in Hong Kong causes unemployment

**Tse 14** writes[[3]](#footnote-3)

**More than 150,000 workers in Hong Kong are expected to receive an** 8.3 percent **increase in** their **minimum wage**s next year. According to the Secretary for Labor and Welfare Matthew Cheung Kin-chung, the Provisional Minimum Wage Commission has proposed to raise the statutory minimum pay to HK$32.5 (US$4.2) per hour, up from HK$30 at present. The new minimum wage policy is awaiting approval from Chief Executive Leung Chun-ying and Executive Council, and is expected to take effect in May next year. Cheung told media last week that more than 200,000 people have re-entered the labor market over the last three years as a result of the minimum wage policy. Middle-aged women have rejoined the labor force and the economic situation of the working poor (workers whose incomes fall below a given poverty line) has also improved. Still, the minimum wage policy has been a subject of debate. There are worries that raising the minimum wage will discourage companies to hire more people, and bosses will try to keep down the labor cost by increasing the workload of its current employees and cutting back benefits. On the other hand, some quarters point to the positive impact of the policy on the living standards of the poor. Jeffrey Lam Kin-fung, a representative of the employers and vice chairman of the Business and Professionals Alliance for Hong Kong, is against the bill, warning that small and mid-sized firms would suffer if the minimum wage rose further. Lam also said the Occupy campaign is hurting consumer sentiment and affecting the retail and catering businesses. In view of the political uncertainties, he said, now is not the right time for workers to ask for a large pay rise. Leung Chau-ting, a worker representative at the Labor Advisory Board, supports the pay hike, noting that the proposed HK$32.5 minimum wage won’t even be enough. He told the media that at the proposed level, the minimum wage worker’s monthly income would just be around HK$6,700. He said HK$35 is a more appropriate level, which amounts to HK$7,200 a month. These few hundred dollars of additional income would be “extremely important for the poor”, Leung added. **Experience of foreign countries shows that** a minimum wage policy **would raise** the **living standards of some** workers, **but** it may also **hurt others**. For those who are working full-time, a rise in the minimum wage could definitely raise their total income. However, **the policy has also prompted employers to cut** the number of **full-time jobs and hire more temporary workers** in order **to bring down costs**. In other words, the **“disemployment” effect could lower the number of full-time workers**. So while full-time workers benefit from the hike, others may be crowded out and forced to become part-time workers and earn even less.

Minimum wage increases cause unemployment and interfere with the free market. Before Hong Kong had a minimum wage, it prospered because of a super free market

**Dorn 14** writes[[4]](#footnote-4)

When President Obama advocates a higher minimum wage in his State of the Union Address, he will no doubt argue that by increasing the minimum to $10.10, workers will have fatter pay checks and spend more, thus stimulating the economy and creating more jobs. In fact, economic logic tells a different story. **The law of demand is more powerful than** the **minimum wage law: when the price of** anything, including **labor**, **goes up**, the **quantity demanded goes down**, other things constant. **No one has ever disproven this economic law**—and neither the President nor Congress can overturn it. The idea that raising the minimum wage will increase income confuses the price of labor (the wage rate) with labor income (wage rate x hours worked). If a worker loses her job or can’t find a job at the higher minimum wage, her income is zero. Proponents of the minimum wage argue that those workers who do retain their jobs will consume more, which will increase aggregate demand and increase GDP. But that line of argument is a case of upside-down economics. Consumption is not a determinant of economic growth; it is the result of a prior increase in production. Workers cannot be paid what they haven’t first produced. A **higher minimum wage—without a corresponding** increase in the demand for labor caused by an **increase in labor productivity** (due to more capital per worker, better technology, or more education)—**will mean** fewer jobs, slower job growth, and **higher unemployment** for lower-skilled workers. Higher-skilled workers and union workers will benefit, but only at the expense of lower-skilled workers, especially the young and minorities. There is no free lunch. Small business owners will see their profits cut, which will either drive them out of business or slow their expansion. If prices are increased to offset the higher minimum wage—something that is difficult in globally competitive markets—consumers will have less money to spend on other things. Thus, there will be no net increase in employment. Moreover, an increase in the minimum wage cannot lead to an increase in aggregate demand unless the Federal Reserve accommodates the higher minimum by pumping up the money supply, which would lead to inflation and a loss of purchasing power. Mr. President, there is no magical way to stimulate the economy by increasing the minimum wage. The only sure way to increase jobs and wages for lower-skilled workers, and thus to increase their standard of living, is to increase economic growth. The minimum wage is neither necessary nor sufficient for economic growth. **Hong Kong grew rich without a minimum wage because it undertook** the **reforms that fuel growth: free trade, low tax rates, limited government**, a stable rule of law that safeguards private property, sound money, **and low costs of doing business**. The United States should do likewise. **Increasing** the **minimum wage is the wrong medicine** for an ailing economy. **Further government intervention in free markets is the path toward socialism**, not market liberalism. **Letting free markets determine wage rates is consistent** with a free society and also **with economic logic**. It is the surest path toward greater income mobility as younger, low-skilled workers get experience and move up the income ladder. Cutting that ladder off by mandating a higher minimum wage is a recipe for poverty not progress.

### Rels

Accepting Occupy Central’s demand for a living wage kills economic relations between Hong Kong and China; those are key to Hong Kong’s economy

**Quirk 14** writes[[5]](#footnote-5)

Many times, “Occupy Central” has been likened to Tiananmen Square; however, when you examine the underlying cause of the movement, “**Occupy Central**” begins to look a lot more like “Occupy Wall Street.” Both movements **reflect** youth **dissatisfaction with** income polarization, diminishing advancement opportunities, and an **inability to earn a living wage in a city where external forces drive the cost of everything**, from an apartment to a sandwich to tuition, through the roof. **In this context, China begins to looks more like the scapegoat** than the instigator. **Hong Kong thrives on its open economy** relative to the surrounding region. By providing access to the Chinese economy on a capitalist platform, they have served as Eastern intermediaries to the Western world. However, as China continues to open their economic doors, any sort of **heightened regulation in Hong Kong**, whether political or economic, **is received negatively**. **They must stay ahead of the democratic curve to maintain their competitive advantage**. Going forward, **contrary to popular protest aims, it is in Hong Kong’s best interest to form collaborative** progressive social and economic **policy** that is **closely tied to China**, not separated from it. Although counter-intuitive, their relationship is too intertwined to sever. **China is Hong Kong’s largest export partner** with 58 percent of net exports, as well as their largest import partner at 45 percent of net imports. Of funds invested directly into Hong Kong from abroad, 75 percent come from China, and 75 percent of visitors to Hong Kong each year come from mainland China. Long story short, **Hong Kong needs China**. Even more worrisome to Hong Kong’s future is the rapid shift in geographic capital allocation within the Chinese–Hong Kong economy. In 2012, funds flowing in from foreign countries decreased by 20 percent in Hong Kong while they increased by 20 percent in Shanghai. This change reflects a growing international attitude that Hong Kong might no longer be the Chinese gatekeepers. Because of China’s increasingly accommodating globalized economy, foreign investors go straight to the growing economies; there is no need to go through Hong Kong as the middle man.

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**HKRMA 14** writes[[6]](#footnote-6)

**Since its introduction to Hong Kong, the Statutory Minimum Wage** (SMW) **has created significant impacts to the labour market**, businesses, as well as the society and the economy. Hence, the Hong Kong Retail Management Association (HKRMA) considers it paramount that the Minimum Wage Commission (MWC) should conduct the second review of the SMW rate prudently. The review should best be done by following rational considerations that adhere to the law, rather than succumbing to social pressure and political expedience. 2. The HKRMA considers the review should follow the basic principles below: (a) The legislative intention and stipulations should be adhered to closely: The review should focus strictly on the purpose enshrined in the Minimum Wage Ordinance (MWO), i.e. to “maintain an appropriate balance between the objectives of forestalling excessively low wages and minimizing the loss of low-paid jobs; and to sustain Hong Kong’s economic growth and competitiveness”. The original intent of SMW as a wage floor and not a living wage for workers should be maintained. 2 (b) SMW’s impacts and risks should be fully assessed and shared with the public: To follow MWC’s own pledge that the review is “objective, evidence-based and balanced”, the Commission should focus first on understanding and sharing with the public SMW’s full impacts on workers, businesses, the society and the economy since the last rate review, before adjusting the rate again. An assessment on the economic risks of further SMW adjustment should also be included, as there are signs of slower or even negative growth in industries (such as the retail industry) and the economy as a whole. (c) The review must ensure fairness to stakeholder sectors and NOT repeat the unfairness to employers: In setting the SMW, employers were unfairly pressurized to pay employees for non-work hours, which were not specified in the law. Conflict was generated, causing unnecessary disruption to social harmony. This should not recur again. Considerations on the Consultation Following the above basic principles, the HKRMA proposes that the MWC should heed the considerations below over the consultation process and its circumstances during the SMW rate review: 3. The consultation process: There is currently insufficient information and understanding on SMW’s actual impacts on workers, businesses, the society and the economy. Such information is important to foster “evidence-based” and “rational” discussions in the SMW rate review and consultation, as highlighted in the MWC homepage, press statements and reports. Accordingly, the MWC should prioritize collecting, commissioning and releasing comprehensive and in-depth studies on SMW’s impacts to facilitate public understanding. It should also publish a proper, full consultation paper or a draft report to facilitate collection of public comments, which is a prerequisite and basic practice in present-day public consultations. The scarcity of information and yet-to-be-studied topics are detailed below: (a) In this SMW rate review, the MWC refers the public to only a few raw reference materials (namely, “Relevant Information and Data” and Census and Statistic Department’s report on earning and work hours), which are highly insufficient to 3 foster an informed discussion. The only other official reference available is the Government’s commissioned study in 2012 on the knock-on effect of the SMW.1 (b) Currently, **very few empirical studies on SMW’s** social and economic **impacts are available. Some** of the studies **focus on a narrow set of stakeholders, a selected scope of impact, or mostly** cover **data** only **until 2012**. Researchers of most of these studies also called for a closer tracking of the situation to better understand SMW’s impacts. Even the Central Policy Unit, the government think tank, announced only in March 2014 to include the SMW as a new indicative research area in its Public Policy Research Funding Scheme3 .

### Social Mobility

Minimum wage hike in Hong Kong kills the quality of goods and services and doesn’t solve the root cause of low social mobility

**Ho 13** writes[[7]](#footnote-7)

In my opinion, setting minimum wage can really help those low-income employees to be paid fairly. With the excessive inflation, the average of daily expenses is rocketing while the wages of many employees **in Hong Kong** are still at a low level. Some workers only have less than HK$10 per hour. It is really hard for them to survive under the inflation so setting minimum wage is a must. The **rise of minimum wage is favourable to** help **the low-income family. However, is it really good to the whole city? I don’t think so**.   To begin with, the minimum wage leads to some side effects on other workers. There is a misallocation of human resource on different jobs. With minimum wage, people are only willing to work for those less physically demanding jobs instead. So there are no people willing to work on jobs like cleaning toilets, washing dishes, etc. Also **poor morale is formed because not all staff has an increase in salary**. The law is unfair to other employees. **With bad morale,** the **quality of services and products is adversely affected**. So the minimum wage is not good for the city development. Another reason is that the **increase of minimum salary is not fixing the** deep **root problem of low-income** group of **workers. The main need** of those low-income **is to be trained to enhance their competitiveness in finding** a **higher salary jobs**. However, only **an increase in a small amount of salary cannot help them** to **upgrade themselves**. Then they can only relay on the government’s subsidies in the future life. Without providing talent trainings, workers are not being helped in the long run.

### HK Competitiveness Link

The aff kills Hong Kong’s economic competitiveness

**Ho 13** writes[[8]](#footnote-8)

Last but not least, minimum wage can weaken the economy of Hong Kong. The **competitiveness of Hong Kong is decreasing. With** the **minimum wage,** the **salary expense increases and is transferred to customers by** setting **a higher price** of products and services. **Eventually it fuels** the **inflation** in Hong Kong. Also, **setting minimum wage means that the government intervene the labour market**. A **higher salary expenses may discourage investors** to invest **in Hong Kong**. So the overall economy is turned down.   Therefore, I think the minimum wage is not good to the society but still can help the low-income people. So, for me, setting minimum wage is the last resort. There are many other things can be done to help the low-income people. The government can provide value-added training to the low-income workers to upgrade themselves to provide better quality performance to the society. Also measures should be implemented to prevent the excessive inflation, like price control of the necessities in Hong Kong, providing subsidies on necessities, etc.

## Shipping Advantage

### Adv. CP

#### The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region ought to implement better maritime traffic control systems, including, but not limited to, the following:

#### Creating a comprehensive database of port accidents

#### Increasing implementation of Global Integrated Shipping Information System

#### Implementing strategies to strengthen traffic safety for passenger ships.

#### Solves The Shipping Advantage; Studies

Yip, 2008:

(Port-Traffic Risks- A Study Of Accidents In Hong Kong Waters. Transportation Research Part E 44 (2008) 921-931. Tsz Leung Yip, Department of Logistics, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.)

Conclusions and further research This study provides valuable insights into the current status of port traffic risks in the literature. Marine traffic management currently puts most of its emphasis on controlling traffic. This study provides statistically significant evidence that the port of registration, the vessel type and the accident type are critical to the number of injuries and fatalities. From a managerial perspective, the findings have identified factors that can contribute to reducing the severity level of port accidents. The results demonstrate that marine collisions account for over two-thirds of all accidents within Hong Kong waters. About 5% and 20% of these accidents cause fatalities and injuries, respectively. The local risk environment of Hong Kong waters compares favorably with international norms. Accidents involving passenger- type vessels are more likely to result in injuries, whereas accidents in typhoon shelters have a lower probability of causing injuries. Traffic level is one of the main indicators for improvements in the efficiency and service of ports (De and Ghosh, 2003). As the container port market continues to emphasize faster and more reliable handling in ports and terminals, there is a need for Hong Kong and other busy ports to continue to deploy better and more effective traffic control systems to match the increasing volume of vessel and cargo movements. The major obstacle to the improvement of port traffic control is the lack of a comprehensive database of port accidents. Nevertheless, both the port authority and the private sector are making efforts to resolve the issue by developing value-added information platforms, such as the Global Integrated Shipping Information System (GISIS). The marginal effects of the estimated negative binomial regression analysis indicate that accidents with passenger type ships, including high speed ferries, sampans and pleasure vessels, result in a relatively high number of injuries, with each port accident involving passenger ships expected to result in more than one injury. The results suggest that policy strategies should therefore be provided for passenger ships in order to strengthen traffic safety. Further research is needed to compare port traffic risks across the world and to explore the impact of various traffic control philosophies. This study should be extended to consider the evolution of the adoption of information technology in port traffic control and how the adoption is affecting the traffic risks. This is important because any future framework of port traffic management should result from reducing port accidents and consequently enhancing efficiency.

#### Prefer My Evidence; Best Statistical Model

Yip, 2008:

(Port-Traffic Risks- A Study Of Accidents In Hong Kong Waters. Transportation Research Part E 44 (2008) 921-931. Tsz Leung Yip, Department of Logistics, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.)

Existing port accident studies in the literature are based upon the use of single variable models by calculating the components distribution of variables (Christou, 1999; Ronza et al., 2003; Darbra and Casal, 2004) and do not test their statistical significance. However, because of the complexity of extensive port activities, any database containing fewer than 1000 records might not be large enough to identify any statistically significant variables. It is understood that accidents result from a number of factors and cannot normally be assessed on the basis of a single factor. More robust analyses, such as regression, have not yet been applied to the study of port traffic accidents. In different contexts of transportation safety, some negative binomial and Poisson regression models have been developed to study traffic safety and predict accident frequency. Loeb et al. (1994) provided a detailed review of transport accident studies and associated theories. Talley (2002) reviewed determinants of the number of injuries, deceased and missing occupants and the damage cost of maritime safety and accidents. Clarke and Loeb (2005) examined train fatalities and found that alcohol consumption appeared to be a significant contributor to fatalities. Loeb and Clarke (2007) studied truck accidents and identified alcohol consumption, unemployment rate and railroad activity as significant factors in truck accidents. Talley et al. (2006) investigated determinants of the severity of passenger vessel accidents and concluded that human mistakes result in a higher number of injuries and fatalities in passenger vessel accidents than environmental and vessel related causes. By reviewing more than 2000 accidents in Hong Kong port, which has been ranked the busiest port in the world in 1992–2004, this paper aims to illustrate the key characteristics of port risk profile for marine traffic management of high traffic volumes. Unlike previous port accident studies in the literature, a more robust approach – regression analysis – is applied to analyze port accidents in which multiple variables may play a part.

#### Prefer My Evidence; It’s The First Comprehensive Study On Port Accidents

Yip, 2008:

(Port-Traffic Risks- A Study Of Accidents In Hong Kong Waters. Transportation Research Part E 44 (2008) 921-931. Tsz Leung Yip, Department of Logistics, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.)

There has been a strong focus on the relationship between marine accidents and vessel particulars, flag states and crews. However, despite seaports being a key part of the facilities for water transportation, there has, to date, been no comprehensive study on marine accidents within seaports. One reason for this is because a port policy is often designed specifically to fit the local situations. Another reason is because the port state jurisdiction over vessels is limited within the territorial sea but flag states have greater jurisdiction. Globalization of trade has led to a rapid increase in vessel movements in many seaports. Most busy seaports, as this trade continues to grow, will face many of the port risk issues observed in Hong Kong port today in the near future. This paper investigates port traffic risk issues by discussing historic accidents in Hong Kong port, which, for many years, was ranked as the world’s busiest port.

### U/Q (General)

#### No Uniqueness And Can’t Solve Alt Causes; Their Evidence

Chong 14

(Dennis Chong ,AFP reporter) “Accidents raise safety issues for crowded Hong Kong port” The China Post July 7, 2014)

Hong Kong is one of the world's busiest ports, but as a growing number of container ships compete with fishing boats for space in an ever-shrinking harbor, a spate of accidents has raised fears for maritime safety. The city, whose name means “fragrant harbor” in the Cantonese dialect, is as famous for its crowded shipping lanes as it is for its bustling streets. But a fatal collision between a local ferry and small pleasure boat in October 2012 left 39 people dead and sparked an investigation that discovered a “litany of errors” contributed to the tragedy. Since then, a number of other incidents — including two high-speed ferry accidents that injured scores of passengers and the grounding of a large container ship — have left those who ply Hong Kong's waters worried. Hong Kong's glittering skyscrapers are built around the iconic Victoria Harbor, where thousands of people criss-cross the waterways that separate the mainland and the city's islands daily. Annual vessel arrivals in the southern Chinese city have almost doubled since 1990 to almost 200,000 in 2013. Much of this increase is due to the construction of ports in the neighboring Chinese trading hub of the Pearl River Delta, which has led to more container ship traffic. Hong Kong itself is home to the world's fourth-largest container port. Kwok Mook-kiu, 69, who has worked as a small fishing boat or “sampan” operator for more than 30 years, said it is increasingly difficult to navigate a safe path. “There are so many more ships now. If a big cargo vessel passes by, I will just stop and wait until it is gone,” she told AFP. Intense Traffic “Few ports have the same intensity of marine traffic, or range of vessel sizes,” said Richard Colwill, who has worked as a marine planner in the city for 17 years Around 1,000 container ships and high-speed ferries use the city's waters each day, said Colwill, sharing routes with fishing boats, tug boats, yachts, cargo barges and local ferries. But while he believes the waters are safe, the increasing number of ferries means that if there is a collision, the potential for casualties is greater. “Should an incident occur, we are having more serious consequences because of a higher proportion of ferries within the traffic mix,” said Colwill, managing director at infrastructure consultancy BMT Asia Pacific. In May, a high-speed ferry collided with a cargo ship, injuring more than 30 people, and in November last year a high-speed ferry crashed into an unidentified object, leaving 87 hurt. That incident also highlighted the problem of rubbish strewn across the waterways. Tony Yeung, a former captain who now heads a local marine training institute, says obstacles as large as beds and refrigerators would force him to make a detour on busy sea routes. “When you are riding a high-speed ferry and you run into any of them, it can be very serious. When you go around them quickly, there may be other ferries beside you that you can crash into,” he said. Shrinking Harbor Boat operators say there is also a problem with land reclamation, which has seen Victoria Harbor shrink over the decades to create more space in a densely packed city. “The harbor has shrunk. The government wants land everywhere,” sampan operator Kwok said, adding that this increases risks. But the government's marine department defends its safety record, saying the number of collisions has fallen, from 327 in 1995 to 183 in 2012. “The average number of collisions is about 170 cases in the past five years. Most of the cases were minor in nature,” a marine department spokeswoman told AFP, describing there to be about 135,000 passenger trips made daily on local passenger vessels. The probe into the 2012 tragedy found safety measures were not enforced by inspectors for the department, described as “understaffed and underfunded” for the past decade by Paul Zimmerman, CEO of Designing Hong Kong, which campaigns for better planning and policies in the city. “The report thereafter basically found that in the last 20-odd years, the marine department adhered to some very casual attitudes and has not put good effort into maintaining a comprehensive inspection system,” lawmaker James To, who assisted the families of the victims, told AFP. The department, which said it has “strengthened” ship inspections after the disaster, has proposed improvement measures including a requirement for large passenger ships to carry better tracking and communication equipment. Meanwhile, those who spend every day on Hong Kong's frenetic waterways say vigilance is key to survival. “Of course I am worried about accidents, I am always afraid,” a 72-year-old ferry captain surnamed Lai said. “Sea traffic is busier now... just like crossing a busy road, you have to pay extra attention.”

#### No Hong Kong Port Accidents; Expert Evidence

Mullany and Bradsher, 2014:

(11 Missing After Cargo Ships Collide Near Hong Kong. Gerry Mullany and Keith Bradsher, Journalists For The New York Times. May 5, 2014.)

Hong Kong is one of the world’s busiest ports, and it is not uncommon at night or during fog to hear a series of sonorous blasts from a freighter, warning a smaller vessel to move out of the way. The city is also home to a large fleet of fishing vessels. But Alan Loynd, the former senior salvage master of Hong Kong Salvage & Towage, which is the main marine salvage and towing company in the city, said that Hong Kong had not had more of a problem over the years than other large ports with collisions and close calls among fishing vessels and freighters. “There have been occasional cases like everybody else, but nothing special,” he said. Mr. Loynd, who is also the chairman of the International Tugmasters Association, a marine safety and advocacy group that represents the ship towing industry, noted that a powerful thunderstorm had been moving through the Hong Kong area about the time of the collision. But he cautioned that there was no information available yet on whether the vessels were under or close to the thunderstorm at the moment of impact.

### S/D (General)

#### Can’t Solve Alt Causes; Fog And Lightning

Mullany and Bradsher, 2014:

(11 Missing After Cargo Ships Collide Near Hong Kong. Gerry Mullany and Keith Bradsher, Journalists For The New York Times. May 5, 2014.)

Modern marine radar systems aboard freighters are very good at spotting lower-riding vessels, provided the systems are properly adjusted, Mr. Loynd said. But very heavy rainfall, as occurred at times during the thunderstorm, might degrade radar performance somewhat, he said, while the very frequent lightning strikes during the thunderstorm also might have affected radar. Hong Kong has long had a reputation for heavy springtime fog. That has been compounded in recent years by severe smog, coming from factories in nearby mainland China as well as from sources in Hong Kong itself. Visibility fell to 1,800 feet during an especially dense predawn smog in August 2004, and four collisions involving a total of eight ships were recorded in a single hour, although no one was killed in any of them.

#### Living Wage Fails; Training And Retirements Overwhelm The Plan

White, 2010:

(Global Shipping Industry Faces Worker Shortage. November 25, 2010. Ronald D. White, Journalist For The Los Angeles Time)

After an unwelcome reprieve caused by the global recession, employers in international trade again are growing concerned about whether there will be enough qualified candidates to fill the next generation of cargo and logistics jobs. A spate of reports over the last two years has conjured up images of ships with too few seafarers to operate them, truck-ready freight with too few drivers to do the hauling and warehouse and distribution centers without enough qualified administrators to run them. The worldwide shipping industry, which employs more than 1 million people to crew its technologically advanced vessels, is having trouble training enough seafarers, the International Maritime Organization said recently. It forecast a shortfall of 27,000 to 46,000 ships' officers in the near future. The U.S. trucking industry will need to hire about 200,000 drivers this year and another 200,000 by the end of 2011 to keep up with expected growth as more and more drivers hang up their keys, according to the Council of Supply Chain Management Professionals. "This is a growth industry and we're facing a lot of retirements," said Tom Good, a director of sales and marketing for Matson Navigation Co., an Oakland shipping outfit with significant operations in Southern California. "Businesses are worried, and we have a serious need for an educated workforce who understands what we do." It might seem odd to talk about an impending workforce shortage in what has been a mostly weak economic recovery. But shortages are looming in every sector of the maritime industry and international trade just as world economies creep back into the black after the worst global recession since World War II. "A ship can be built in two years, but it takes a minimum of three years to properly train someone to work on it," said Bill Davis, senior vice president for Wells Fargo Insurance Services. "The gap continues to widen and the impact on cargo, equipment and lives has already reached unacceptable levels." The squeeze will be felt strongly in Southern California, where the ports of Los Angeles and Long Beach handle more than 40% of the nation's imported goods. Greatwide Logistics Services is one of the companies already feeling the pinch. The trucking company hauls steel, groceries and apparel for clients throughout California but is struggling to maintain its roster of 5,000 drivers as older drivers retire. "We now spend more money on finding, winning and keeping young drivers than we spend on marketing to our customers," said Dick Metzler, chief marketing officer of the Dallas firm. "This is the No. 1 issue facing our company right now." To address the need, local schools are expanding programs despite budgetary constraints. Not only are these types of jobs expected to increase as the economy improves, but the salaries are also pretty good. Dockworkers, for instance, earn some of the highest blue-collar wages in the nation, between $22 and $35 an hour. For several years Banning High School, named for Los Angeles port founder Phineas Banning, has operated four international trade academies that combine traditional core academic subjects with beginning business course work. The academy concept has spread. Barstow High School's Mojave XP Global Logistics Academy opened in 2007, followed by Carson High School's Global Business Academy that same year. San Pedro High School's Earth Alert Academy was launched in 2009 and Gardena High School's Global Leadership Academy opened in September. Southern California also is home to several highly regarded college and graduate-level programs focusing on logistics and maritime education, including the California Maritime Academy, the Center for International Trade and Transportation at Cal State Long Beach and the masters degree program in logistics and materials management at the University of San Diego. "We don't have a workforce trained to respond to all of the various changing needs of the trade and transportation industry," said Tom O'Brien, director of research at the Center for International Trade and Transportation at Cal State Long Beach. The school recently added a program to train marine terminal operators in response to industry demand, he said. Good of Matson Navigation sees a "serious need" for more young people trained in the various aspects of international trade.

### INL/D (General)

#### Not Key To Global Shipping; Here’s A Top Ten List

Kable, 2013:

(October 14, 2013. The World’s 10 Biggest Ports. Ship-Technology.com, Published By Kable, A Trade Division Of Kable Intelligence Limited)

Seven of the 10 biggest ports in the world by cargo volume are in China. The remaining three are in Singapore,the Netherlands and South Korea. Ship-technology.com profiles the world's ten biggest ports based on 2012 cargo volume. Port of Shanghai The Port of Shanghai is the biggest port in the world based on cargo throughput. The Chinese port handled 744 million tonnes of cargo in 2012, including 32.5 million twenty-foot equivalent units (TEUs) of containers. The port is located at the mouth of the Yangtze River covering an area of 3,619km². Shanghai International Port Group (SIPG) owns the port facility. Wusongkou, Waigaoqiao and Yangshan are the three main container port areas. The port comprises of 125 berths with a total quay length of about 20km. It serves more than 2,000 container ships on a monthly basis and accounts for a quarter of China's total foreign trade. Port of Singapore The Port of Singapore, which handled 537.6 million tonnes of cargo in 2012, is the second biggest port in the world. The port's container throughput crossed the 30 million TEUs mark for the first time in 2012. The port terminals are located at Tanjong Pagar, Keppel, Brani, Pasir Panjang, Sembawang and Jurong. The terminals are managed by PSA Singapore and Jurong Port. The port receives an average of 140,000 vessels on an annual basis and connects to 600 ports globally. It is equipped with 204 quay cranes and a number of gantry cranes. A major terminal expansion project is currently underway at the Port of Singapore, which, when fully commissioned in 2020, will add 15 more berths. Port of Tianjin The third biggest port in the world is the Port of Tianjin (formerly Tanggu), which in 2012 witnessed remarkable increase of cargo and container throughputs by 5.3% and 6.2% respectively. It handled 476 million tonnes of cargo and 12.3 million TEUs of containers in 2012. Located in the mouth of Haihe River in northern China, the port covers an area of 336km² of water and 131km² of land. It connects to more than 500 ports and serves 189 countries. Tianjin Port Group Companies is the operator. The port features 159 berths and is made up of the northern port, southern harbour, Dongjiang Port, an economic zone in the southern region, the south-east region and other auxiliary harbours. Port of Guangzhou The Port of Guangzhou handled more than 460 million tonnes of cargo in 2012, making it the fourth biggest port in the world based on cargo traffic. The port is located in the middle of the Pearl River Delta. It is operated by Guangzhou Port Authority and handled the first 100 million tonnes of cargo in 1999. The cargo traffic has increased significantly since then. The port comprises four main areas including Downtown Port, Huangpu Port, Xinsha Port and Nansha Port Area. It is currently the largest loading and discharging port for coal in China. Port of Ningbo Port of Ningbo, which handled more than 453 million tonnes of cargo in 2012, is the fifth biggest port in the world. The port's TEU capacity also reached 15.6 million tonnes in the same year. The port is located in the coastal province of Zhejiang and is comprised of Beilun Port Area, Zhenhai Port Area, Ningbo Port Area, Daxie Port Area and Chuanshan Port Area. Ningbo Port Group is the operator of the port. Comprising of 309 berths, the port connects to more than 600 ports in more than 100 countries. It was recently been merged with the Port of Zhoushan. The combined TEU capacity of the two ports reached 16.83 million tonnes in 2012. Port of Rotterdam The Port of Rotterdam is currently the biggest port in Europe and the sixth biggest in the world by annual cargo throughput. The port handled 441.5 million tonnes of cargo in 2012. The port, including an industrial complex within its vicinity, stretches across a length of about 42km, covering an area of approximately 12,426ha. It is managed and operated by the Port of Rotterdam Authority (PoRA). It is the only port in north-western Europe that offers unrestricted access to ships with the deepest draughts. A major port expansion project, dubbed as Maasvlakte 2, was launched in 2008. The first phase of the expansion was opened in May 2013 and will eventually double the port's container transfer capacity. Port of Suzhou Port of Suzhou, which achieved a cargo throughput of 428 million tonnes in 2012, an increase of 12.61% from 2011, is currently the seventh biggest port in the world by cargo throughput. It is also one of the busiest inland river ports in the world. The port is owned by Suzhou Municipal Government. It comprises of Zhangjiagang, Changshu and Taicang ports, located on the lower reaches of the Yangtze River in Jiangsu province. The port features 224 berths and deals with hundreds of international and domestic shipping lines. It mainly trades in cargo including coal, steel and construction materials. The port authority is with Suzhou Harbour Administration Department. Port of Qingdao Port of Qingdao, located at the entrance to Jiaozhou Bay on the south coast of Shadong Peninsula, overlooking the Yellow Sea, handled more than 400 million tonnes of cargo in 2012. It currently ranks as the eighth biggest port in the world. The port is touted as the world's largest port for iron ore and China's largest port of crude oil. The port merges Qingdao Old Port, Huangdao Oil Port and Qianwan New Port, and is connected to more than 450 ports in more than 130 countries and regions across the world. Qingdao Economic and Technological Development Area, Qingdao Free Trade Zone and Qingdao High-tech Industrial Zone are located within the vicinity of the port. The port is operated by Qingdao Port Group. Port of Dalian Port of Dalian, located in the Liaodong Peninsula in Liaoning province, handled more than 303 million tonnes of cargo in 2012 ranking as the ninth biggest port in the world. Owned and managed by Dalian Port Company, the port comprises of seven areas, namely Daliangang, Dalianwan, Xianglujiao, Nianyuwan, Ganjinzi, Heizuizi, Si'ergou and Dayaowan. The port handles around 70% of the region's cargo and 90% of the region's container transportation. It features approximately 80 berths and is connected to approximately 99 shipping lines around the world. Port of Busan Port of Busan, located in mouth of the Naktong River in South Korea, is the tenth biggest port in the world based on cargo throughput. The port handled 298 million tonnes of cargo in 2012. Managed and operated by the Busan Port Authority (BPA), the port is made up of North Port, South Port, Gamcheon Port and Dadaepo Port, an international passenger terminal and six container terminals. The South Korean port handles 40% of the total marine export freights, 80% of container freights and 42% of fisheries production of the entire nation. It is spread over an area of 840,000m² and is capable of handling 169 vessels simultaneously.

### I/D (General)

#### Low Shipping Inevitable; Oversupply

Stratfor, 2013:

(Global Shipping Contends With Oversupply Problems. July 8, 2013. Stratfor)

Summary The global shipping industry is oversupplied. Because supply far exceeds demand, shipping rates have plummeted, as have the prices of ships. Some shipping companies have sought to capitalize on this trend by purchasing newer, larger ships at lower prices so that they can remain price competitive. But unless demand rebounds by the time these ships become operational, the industry's oversupply problem will only worsen. It is unclear whether the global shipping industry will normalize before these new ships enter the market. Demand could rise as the global economy recovers, or the supply of ships could somehow fall. But the economy's recovery could just as well be slower than anticipated. Several factors could prevent the industry from righting itself, not the least of which are inaccurate forecasts of future market behavior. In fact, the current state of global shipping was caused in part by incorrect predictions of continued growth prior to the 2008 financial crisis. In any case, continued poor performance and a sluggish global economy could eventually force the shipping industry to restructure. Analysis The most important factor to consider, in assessing the state of the shipping industry, is the state of the global economy. The international shipping industry accounts for approximately 90 percent of global trade by volume and is essential for connecting large sectors of the world's economy. Since 1734, the industry has seen more than 20 boom-bust cycles, which occur roughly once per decade. The most recent cycle began in 2004 and peaked in 2008 before declining rapidly at the onset of the global financial crisis. The downturn afflicted each of the industry's three main categories: tanker, dry bulk and container. While the volume of global trade has recovered somewhat — it grew 4 percent in 2011, marking a 16 percent growth in ton-kilometers — the shipping industry is still reeling from the financial crisis. Big, Efficient Fleets The industry right now has far more ships than it needs. Most shipping companies tend to reduce the price of their services in an effort to underbid their competitors. Either they reduce the cost per ton or the cost per container. This means most companies try to accrue the biggest and most efficient ships possible. Between 2007 and 2012, the average container ship's capacity increased by 27 percent. From a shipping company's perspective, overstocking a fleet with large ships while prices are low is a sound business move. Ships are long-term investments that can yield returns for 20 or 30 years, and trade will almost certainly pick up during the life span of any given ship. While purchasing new ships may seem counterintuitive in an oversupplied market, companies know that the capital cost of a ship plays a disproportionately large role in determining how profitable that ship will be, representing roughly half of all expenditures — including port fees, labor, fuel and other costs — over the course of the ship's lifetime. Buyers therefore take advantage of low prices whenever they can. The more efficient these ships are, the lower the price their owners can offer to potential customers. Maersk shipping company recently christened the first ship in its Triple-E line, which is now the largest line of container ships in the world. These ships are a quarter of a mile long, and they can hold roughly 11 percent more cargo than their nearest competitors. Overcapacity is a problem in itself, but the issue is complicated by the inherent lag in acquiring inventory. On average, it takes two to four years after the placement of an order for a ship to be built and delivered. Thus, ships ordered in 2008, when the industry began to decline, were not delivered until well after the financial crash. While shipping companies had hoped the economic downturn would end quickly as many had forecast, they could not afford to let their competitors build superior fleets — they were forced to continue buying just to stay competitive. An Informal Alliance Along with the economic downturn, the contest to outbid competitors helped keep shipping rates low. In turn, low rates have forced shipping companies to work for fees that often cover only the operating costs of the ships. In these instances, companies that are still paying off the capital investment of the ship are actually losing money. This is notable, considering the Drewry global freight rate index dropped more than 30 percent from July 2008 ($2,727 per forty-foot container) to May 2013 ($1,882 per forty-foot container). The threat posed by untenably low rates could transform the shipping industry. The world's three largest container lines — Maersk, CMA CGM and Mediterranean — have formed an alliance of sorts in an effort to reduce operating costs. The fact that the three largest companies in the industry are acting in concert indicates just how hard it has become for them to survive the downturn (to say nothing of smaller, poorer companies). Their informal alliance could portend further consolidation. Past consolidation efforts to control shipping prices were unsuccessful, but several outstanding issues, such as China's slowed growth and the European crisis, may keep global demand low enough to force the industry to restructure itself. In previous boom-bust cycles, demand and shipping rates rebounded as new ships became operational. It is unclear whether this will hold true in the current cycle. If it does not, newly acquired ships will only aggravate the industry's problems.

#### Low Shipping Inevitable; Piracy

Kavas, 2011:

(Somali Pirates In The Shipping Industry. October 10, 2011. Feray Yuksekbas Kavas, Sales Executive at MTS Logistics Inc. And M.B.A. From Istanbul University Business Administration)

Every year the number of pirate attacks in the shipping industry is increasing. According to global piracy reports from The International Chamber of Commerce and The International Maritime Bureau, 2010 was the most dangerous of all recorded years in international shipping. With as many as 53 ships hijacked at sea, 1181 sailors taken hostage and eight people killed. The waters off Somalia accounted for the majority of the hijack incidents, with 92 percent of all ship seizures last year (49 vessels hijacked and 1,016 crew members taken hostage). Modern pirates can be successful because a large amount of international commerce occurs via shipping. Approximately 80 percent of world trade is moving via ocean shipping. That means that 93,000 vessels and several billion tons of cargo. Today vessels are operating with smaller crews, as technology gets more advanced. This also works in advantage of the pirates, as they move in small crews but heavily armed. In the waters of Somalia and the Gulf of Aden the number of the attacks has been increasing with the collapse of the central government since 1991. Somali pirates are demanding ransoms for up to $10 million, threatening crews and warning the ship-owners that they will ground the ship if their demands are not met. Between 2006 and 2010 there were 1600 piracy acts recorded. In November 2010 a record high ransom was paid to Somali pirates; $9.5 million to release an oil tanker. At the end of 2010, 638 crew members from more than 18 countries were being held hostage by pirates. They are Somali fishermen and some are ex-military, many of them between 20–35 years old and come from the region of Puntland, in northeastern Somalia. Somalia is a country that has struggled with famine and poverty for centuries. Modern Somali pirates have small boats, and take advantage of the small number of crew members on modern cargo vessels. They do so quite successfully, unfortunately. Pirate crews are making tens of millions of dollars in ransoms every year. The less “sophisticated” pirates board a vessel and hold up the crew to steal large amounts of cash that many ships carry for payroll and port fees. The trained and experienced pirates are usually members of organized gangs that may take over the ships and hold crews for ransom. Piracy clearly affects the shipping industry, but how much does it cost us? It is very hard to calculate exact cost for piracy because it is has direct and in direct costs. These attacks do not just effect the shipper directly, the company that owns the vessels, the crew members and their families. It effects the entire industry. One has to account for several things when making an estimate; Ransom cost, Insurance cost and cost of re-routing. And these all are in some ways reflected to shipping rates that importers and exporters are paying. In reaction to the growing threat and cost of ransoms, the maritime insurance industry has responded by increasing its shipping rates and premiums, especially in designated high-risk piracy zones. Shipping insurance comes in four main types: war risk, kidnap and ransom, cargo, and hull insurance. Rerouting ships via longer but safer voyager also has its costs to the vessel operators. The most recent incident was the vessel MSC Panama, the 1,743 TEU ship and its 23 crew members were held captive for 8 monts. The vessel was seized by Somali pirates on December 10th 2010, and released August 8th of this year for a $7 million ransom. The ship was seized by five heavily armed pirates in the Indian Ocean south of Tanzania, on its way to Mozambique. The attack was relatively far to the south of the region where most attacks have occurred in the past two years, evidence of the expanding reach of the piracy that has troubled trade near the East Coast of Africa. Several ships are being held hostage at this very moment, with over 250 crew members in total.

## Protests Advantage

### Occupy Central Good

Occupy Central’s civil disobedience is a form of direct democracy which enables excluded citizens to empower themselves through dissent

**Lee 15** writes[[9]](#footnote-9)

On the night before the clearance of the historic **Occupy Central** movement, I visited the main campsite in Admiralty. What I saw were many young people, banded together in makeshift communities, brimming with hope, frustration and unity. For me, their strong sense of solidarity, purpose and togetherness sparked questions. Hong Kong's youth are on a mission - but what do they want? And what do they seek to achieve? This movement **embodies** the **pursuit of citizenship rights** as young people stake their claim to the city. Much has been said about their frustration over the lack of upward social mobility and employment opportunities. Many youngsters face such anxieties during their transition to being a full member of society. It is a natural part of growing up. However, too much uncertainty, economic precariousness and a lack of socio-economic security pave the way to civil unrest. **Citizens who feel excluded** from their rights **do not remain silent for long**. Rather, excluded groups seek to challenge inequalities by widening the distribution of resources and citizenship. In doing this, Hong Kong youth are channelling their frustrations and creating new "space" where ideal forms of citizenry manifest themselves in the open. As James Holston, an anthropology professor from the University of California, Berkeley, noted, a new form of radical, "insurgent" citizenship often arises out of an old, unequal regime. He uses the example of Brazil in the 1960s, where the working class overlooked the illegality of their actions as they built houses on unoccupied, untenured land. In this way, the poor effectively established themselves by asserting their citizen rights on housing, daily life and urban space, while transforming marginalised areas into socially organised spaces. Citizens claimed their identity and status through radical, transformative means. Similarly, at the heart of Occupy, there is an insurgent movement led by young people wanting to change from passive citizens to active participants in society. By breaking the law **with** the act of **civil disobedience**, **young citizens were "claiming" their right to expression**, to be heard by the world. Gathering in Admiralty and Causeway Bay, for example, is important symbolically. **Physically occupying Hong Kong's privileged**, important **areas is about retaking space from the corporate world and the state**. Second, the protests provided youngsters who usually communicate via social media with a physical meeting place for face-to-face communication. Against the isolation and divisions of daily life, Occupy offered participation and interaction. It invited passive young citizens to experience a sense of what an inclusive and egalitarian society might look like. In this sense, the movement was about Hong Kong youth forming alternative pathways for political organisation and communication ahead of the real democracy and active citizenry to come. It helped radicalise a whole generation of previously apathetic and discouraged youth, and built "test zones" for a post-capitalist utopia based on principles that are outside the competitive and corporate world. The movement has created an entirely new marker of Hong Kong identity. Third, the movement aimed to create space for a conversation in which all can participate and determine what the future should look like. **By constructing mini communities, youngsters** created a variety of spaces that **provided room for innovation**, experimentation **and dissent. These civil utopias foster** a form of **solidarity** and identity, **which transcend** the cultural, religious, ethnic, gender and class **divisions that Hong Kong youth face in their daily lives**. Lastly, **the Occupy movement provided young participants with** an **experience of direct democracy**, where people with different views interacted directly in a civil and responsible manner. **Demonstrators made a point of cleaning up** after collective action **to illustrate the capacity of "the people" to govern** themselves. The idea that differences should be respected is also embedded in the civil utopias created. Students respected non-students, the elderly respected youngsters and all respected the help given by volunteers. Thus, by creating a space for communication, citizens from different ideological backgrounds had the chance to experience a form of deliberative democracy. Fundamentally, the protests represented a channel for Hong Kong youths' frustrations in the hope of creating a collective identity and asserting their citizenship rights. My generation wants to be seen on the streets, and is not afraid of staking a visible claim to our right to be seen and heard. **When young people enact their rights as citizens in public spaces, they have the collective capacity to speak truth to power**. In a literal sense, it shows that citizenship is physical as much as political. The process of democratic reform must involve people transforming themselves from subjects ruled by others - which Hong Kong's people have always been - to active citizens who rule themselves. That does not involve the subjects asking for citizenship rights, for the ruler will not grant them freely. It means that the subjects start acting as citizens, demand their full rights and ownership of an inclusive society that is rightfully theirs. Hong Kong youths have reconfigured the notion of citizenship by participating in and shaping the Occupy protests. They have created for themselves an ideal notion of an inclusive, egalitarian society that they strive to live in. In the midst of the struggle for genuine universal suffrage, these changes are occurring within my generation of Hong Kong youth.

The aff’s appeals to “order” and “stability” mask injustice. Civil disobedience is necessary against unjust laws

**Ghadiri 11** writes[[10]](#footnote-10)

It is from the rule of law, though, Fortas claims, that we derive order. The rule of law means that individuals must accept rulings of the court and serve what punishment they are dealt regardless of their immorality. We risk losing any semblance of that order and the stability of the law would be undermined if we do not accept the punishments given to us. Order, he argues, is just because it allows for change by the ballot box, or by peaceful means of protest. Fortas seems to place order before justice. **Zinn argues** contrarily **that order and justice ought to be on the same footing**. Were that the case, he says, everything would be fine and no protest or civil disobedience would be necessary. It is actually **because the rule of law hides injustices,** that **civil disobedience is necessary**. The **rule of law** does not create order, but rather **pretends to keep the peace in order to perpetuate a false** social **conception of order. Individuals protest because the rule of law does preserve justice.** Thus, the rule of law should not be preserved by acquiescing to unjust punishment. It is to this point that Zinn argues that those who commit acts of civil disobedience should not be compelled to serve punishment for disobeying an immoral law. "When unjust decisions are accepted, injustice is sanctioned and perpetuated."17 **If** we do not require the rule of law for a sense of order, and **we do not wish to sanction injustice, it is best that we commit acts of civil disobedience**. If justice and order are not held in equal esteem, justice ought to be above order.

Working within the system can’t solve

**Zinn 3** writes[[11]](#footnote-11)

The modern system of **the rule of law is** something **like roulette**. Sometimes you win and sometimes you lose. No one can predict in any one instance whether the little ball will fall into the red or the black, and no one is really responsible. You win, you lose. But as in roulette, **in the end you almost always lose**. In roulette the results are fixed by the structure of the wheel, the laws of mathematical probability, and the rules of “the house.” In society, **the rich** and strong **get what they want by** the law of contract, the **rules of the market**, **and the power of** the **authorities to change the rules or violate them at will**. What is the structure of society’s roulette wheel that ensures you will, in the end, lose? It is, first of all, the **great disparities in wealth** that **give a tremendous advantage to those who can buy** and sell **industries,** buy and sell people’s labor and services, buy and sell the means of communication, **subsidize** the **education**al system, **and buy** and sell the **political candidates themselves**. Second, it is the system of “checks and balances” in which **bold new reforms** (try free medical care for all or sweeping protections of the environment) **can be buried in committee, vetoed** by one legislative chamber or by the president**, interpreted to death by the Supreme Court, or passed by Congress and unenforced by the president.**

Non-violent protest is key to democracy. The fact that power comes from the people has been omitted and downplayed by conventional understandings of history

**Zinn 3** writes[[12]](#footnote-12)

**In the U**nited **S**tates **historical education has emphasized** the **doings of the rich and powerful** – the political leaders, the industrial entrepreneurs. The classroom education of the young has often centered on the presidents. One widely used book for teachers (Push Back the Desks), spoke admiringly of a classroom where the portraits of all the presidents filled the walls and the history lessons were based on that. We often poke fun in the United States at other countries where political leaders are treated like gods, their portraits and statues everywhere. But in our culture, the most **trivial activities of** the **presidents are considered of great significance, while** the **life-and-death struggles of ordinary people are ignored**. For instance, on September 17th, 1972, the New York Times carried a front-page story about Chester A. Arthur, who became president in 1881 and whose administration was hardly noteworthy for any achievements on behalf of human freedom. The headline to the story was “President Arthur Kept Illness a Secret.” The story is about a conference of historians in Tarrytown, New York: “President Arthur’s tightly held secret (that he held a rare kidney disease), withheld not only from his time but also from history, was made known publically for the first time at the conference.” The Times story quoted one of the historians at the conference: “The factual record is substantially corrected, updated and enlarged, and our inherited assumptions about a bygone era receive a sharp jolt.” What should really give us a sharp jolt is that such a piece of trivia should become a front-page story for the nation’s major metropolitan newspaper. The National Historical Papers Commission has spent millions of dollars, given by Congress and by the Ford Foundation, to publish sixty volumes of Thomas Jefferson’s papers, sixty volumes of James Madison, seventy-five volumes of George Washington, a hundred volumes on the Adams family. There are plans for sixty-five volumes on Benjamin Franklin (plus, as the editor noted, “several volumes of addenda and errata”). One historian, Jesse Lemisch, whose own work dealt with ordinary seamen of the Revolutionary Period and who lamented the lack of historical attention to the working people of the country, referred to this project as “the papers of Great White Men.” What sorts of values and ideals are encouraged in the young people of the coming generation by the enormous emphasis on the Founding Fathers and the presidents? It seems to me that **the result is** the **creation of dependency on** powerful **political figures to solve our problems**. We were being exploited by England? Well, the Founding Fathers took care of that in leading the struggle for independence. Was the nation morally blighted by the existence of 4 million black slaves? Abraham Lincoln solved that with the Emancipation Proclamation. Did we have a terrible economic crisis in the early 1930s? Franklin Roosevelt got us out of that one. Do we face enormous problems today? Well, the solution is to find the right president, to go to the polls and choose either the Republican or Democratic candidate. **Such a view, embedded in the minds of the American public by** an **education** that focuses on elites, ignores an important part of the historical record. It **does not pay sufficient attention to** the “crowds” of the Revolutionary period, the **grass-roots organizations, rioters, demonstrators, and boycotters** who brought the Revolution to a boil. Not enough credit is given to the great Abolitionist movement of tens of thousands of black and white people, risking their lives and their freedom to demand the end of slavery. It was this movement that galvanized antislavery sentiment in the country between 1830 and 1860 and pressured Lincoln into his first actions against slavery and pushed Congress into passing the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which made slavery and racial discrimination at last illegal (even if they still existed in different forms). The **New Deal reforms, although presided over by Roosevelt, were given** their **momentum by** the **mass movements** of that time: the Bonus March of 1932; the general strikes of 1934; the waves of strikes in the auto, rubber, and steel industries in 1936 and 1937; the organization of tenants and the unemployed; and by turmoil in the cities and the countryside. Consider how much attention is given in historical writing to military affairs—to wars and battles—and how many of our heroes and military heroes. And consider also how little attention is given to antiwar movements and to those who struggled against the idiocy of war. Everybody who goes to an American school learns about Theodore Roosevelt’s charge up San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American war. But how many learn about the Anti-Imperialist League, which criticized the nation’s actions in Cuba and the military conquest of the Philippines. **As a result of omitting, or downplaying, the importance of social movements** of the people **in** our **history**—the actions of abolitionists, labor leaders, radicals, feminists, and pacifists—**a fundamental principle of democracy is undermined:** the principle **that it is the citizenry, rather than the government, that is the ultimate source of power** and the locomotive that pulls the train of government **in the direction of equality and justice. Such histories create a passive and subordinate citizenry.**

Endorsing civil disobedience is key to combating false patriotism which confuses appreciation for fellow citizens with blind obedience to the state

**Zinn 3** writes[[13]](#footnote-13)

[Ellipses in original] It is curious that Socrates (according to Plato) was willing to disobey the authorities by preaching as he chose, by telling the young what he saw as the truth, even if that meant going against the laws of Athens. Yet, when he was sentenced to death, and by a divided jury (the vote was 281 to 220), he meekly accepted the verdict, saying he owed Athens obedience to its laws, giving that puny 56 percent majority vote an absolute right to take his life. And so it is that **the** admirable **obligation human beings feel to one’s neighbors**, one’s loved ones, even to a stranger needing water or shelter, **becomes confused with blind obedience to** that deadly artifact called **government**. And in that confusion, young men, going off to war in some part of the world they never heard of, for some cause that cannot be rationally explained, then say: “I owe it to my country.” It seems that the idea of owing, of obligation, is strongly felt by almost everyone. But what does one owe the government? Granted, the government may do useful things for its citizens: help farmers, administer old-age pensions and health benefits, regulate the use of drugs, apprehend criminals, etc. But because the government administers these programs (for which the citizens pay taxes, and for which the government officials draw salaries), does this mean that you owe the government your life? Plato is enticing us to confuse the country with the government. **The Declaration of Independence tried to make clear that the people** of the country **set up the government**, **to achieve** the aims of **equality and justice, and when a government no longer pursues those aims it** loses its legitimacy, it has violated its obligation to the citizens, and **deserves no more** respect or **obedience. We are** intimidated by the word patriotism, **afraid to be called unpatriotic**. Early in the twentieth century, the Russian-American anarchist and feminist Emma **Goldman** lectured on patriotism. She **said,** [“] **Conceit, arrogance, and egotism are** the **essentials of patriotism**...Patriotism assumes that our globe is divided into little spots, each one surrounded by an iron gate. **Those who had the fortune of being born on some particular spot, consider themselves** better, nobler, grander, more intelligence than the living beings inhabiting any other spot. **It is**, therefore, **the duty of everyone living on that** chosen **spot to fight, kill, and die** in the attempt **to impose** his **superiority upon all the others.[”]** Even the symbols of patriotism—the flag, the national anthem—become objects of worship, and those who refuse to worship are treated as heretics. When in 1989 the US Supreme Court decided that a citizen has a right to express himself or herself by burning the American flag, there was an uproar in the White House and in Congress. President Bush, almost in tears, began speaking of a Constitutional amendment to make flag burning a crime. Congress, with its customary sheepishness, rushed to pass a law providing a year in prison for anyone hurting the flag. The humorist Garrison Keillor responded to the president with some seriousness: [“]Flag-burning is a minor insult compared to George Bush’s cynical use of the flag for political advantage. Any decent law to protect the flag out to prohibit politicians from wrapping it around themselves! Flag-burning is an impulsive act by a powerless individual—but the cool pinstripe demagoguery of this powerful preppie is a real and present threat to freedom.[”] **If patriotism were defined**, **not as blind obedience to government** as submissive worship to flags and anthems, **but rather** as **love of** one’s country, **one’s fellow citizens** (all over the world)**,** as **loyalty to** the **principles of justice and democracy**, then **patriotism would require us to disobey our government, when it violated those principles.**

Suppression of Occupy Central strengthens American and Chinese capitalism. The protesters demand free elections; free elections challenge the grip business interests have on Hong Kong’s government

**Frayne 14** writes[[14]](#footnote-14)

Protests in Hong Kong began in September demanding greater democracy. But rather than simple demands for Western-style democracy, as they’ve been portrayed in the West, the strikes and protests are intertwining with social and economic demands. In 1997 Britain gave Hong Kong back to China, and since then the state capitalist regime has promised but not delivered democracy. When the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress (NPCSC) of China proposed that nomination of candidates for Chief Executive (head of government) be vetted by at least half of a 1200-member committee representing Hong Kong business interests, protests exploded. Strikes and occupations The Hong Kong Federation of Students organized a strike that drew thousands and then occupied the central square. Police responded with tear gas but this failed to stop the protests and instead drew more people into the street and international solidarity. Spearheaded by student groups and Occupy Central (financial district), the protests grew to a broad-based, mass-movement and continued through October, becoming known as the Umbrella Movement for the umbrellas used to shield tear gas. Student and Occupy groups have played important organizing roles, and there are grassroots initiatives where people pass a microphone around in equal turns to share thoughts on the situation. After the tear gas attack the Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions called for a strike. As the crowds reached 200,000 people on the streets, they stuck to core demands of free elections, resignation of Chief Executive CY Leung, and resignation of the Police Chief. State and free market capitalism While Western media have described these events in vague pro-democracy language, Beijing state media hurled conspiratorial accusations of western provocation (similar to the Ukraine-Russia tensions). These simplifications distract from core issues, which are inconvenient to the elite on either side—issues of inequality and poverty amid opulence. Commentary has played down the fact that the **latest protests are** largely **a continuation of Occupy Central actions, part of the global movement focused on** economic **inequality and corporate greed**. These earlier Occupy protests drew the condemnation of global financial interests. Hong Kong branches of the big four accounting firms (PwC, Deloitte, KPMG and EY) issued a joint statement saying the city’s financial industry could be harmed; HSBC downgraded the city’s economic projections; Chambers of Commerce of Hong Kong, Italy, Canada and India also voiced their opposition; as did Hong Kong’s most prominent billionaire tycoons and property speculators. CY Leung said poor people shouldn't be allowed to vote, because "If it's entirely a numbers game—numeric representation—then obviously you'd be talking to half the people in Hong Kong (that) earn less than US$1800 a month. You would end up wotih that king of politics and policies." The complex economic relationship between **the U.S. and China** mean both sides **have mutual benefit in downplaying the protests**. Stable dictatorships have long been the preferred form of government for Anglo-imperial capitalism, and China is likely no different. When police first used tear gas on protesters, the U.S. Consulate declared they will “not take sides in the discussion of Hong Kong’s political development.” **Among the U.S. and allies, criticism of CCP** corruption and **authoritarianism has muted as trade and investment have increased**. Due to Chinese interest in Canada’s tar-sands and natural resources, this is perhaps even more the case with Harper than David Cameron or the Obama Administration. **As long as China is banker and sweatshop** for the West**, moderation and stability will be** the **watchwords directed to Beijing**. Methods to deal with Occupy Central in Hong Kong have been little different than those employed against protestors in New York or Toronto. Despite pro-democracy platitudes, politicians and corporations are too busy doing business with Beijing to genuinely care about these movements, and we should not let them claim otherwise. Anti-capitalism The **anti-capitalist antecedents of the Umbrella Movement reveal opposition to** both Chinese state **capitalism** and Western free market capitalism—both of which are undemocratic and controlled by billionaires. Anti-capitalist groups maintain support and organizing roles within the movement, and are advocating democratic reform as a first step to real change, while also emphasising that even with free elections the fight against capitalist oppression in Hong Kong would continue.  **According to Sophia Chan, an activist from** the Hong Kong **socialist organization Left 21, “**In this democratic movement, we have been trying to push the economic and labour side…As for our demands, **we see free elections as a major blow to business-government collusion and capitalist privilege, because currently half of the seats in the parliament of Hong Kong** (‘Legislative Council’) **reserved for ‘functional constituencies,** which basically mean that **certain economic sectors** (such as finance) **in Hong Kong are guaranteed a seat in the parliament**. When we fight for policies such as the minimum wage or a standard labour law, it is almost always those members of parliament who block the bill. Also, the electoral committee for the Chief Executive election as proposed by Beijing would consist of 1,200 representatives, almost all of whom belong to business sectors such as real estate, banking, etc. Beijing has explicitly declared that this is to protect the interests of capitalists. As such, although we do think that a democratic political system is only the first step to real change, we also think that that in itself would already be a huge improvement for our fight against capitalist oppression in Hong Kong. Of course, we do also try to spread the idea that even if we obtain free elections, we would still battle against tycoons and capitalists.”

Occupy Central was a response to the fact that China has not given Hong Kong the democracy it promised

**Chan 14** writes[[15]](#footnote-15)

When did the protests start and why? What was the turning point? **The protest was** actually **a result of a long battle for democracy**. **When the British handed Hong Kong** back over **to China** in 1997**, the Chinese government promised** both in the Sino-British Joint Declaration and the mini constitution of Hong Kong (the Basic Law) that **a democratic system eventually would be implemented** in Hong Kong. After decades of delay and making excuses, **in August** this year the National People’s Congress of **the PRC declared that** the **so-called democracy that Hong Kong would have is a system where Beijing** will basically **vet two to three candidates for voters to choose from**. Also, **the candidates** would **have to gain** at **more than 50 percent of nominations from a tiny electoral committee** of 1,200 people, **most of whom are representatives of business interests** in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Federation of Students (HKFS) began organizing a student strike that started on September 22. More than 13,000 university students boycotted classes and joined the strike. On September 26, around 1,500 secondary school students also joined the strike. During the strike, university professors held public lectures in the open area outside the Hong Kong government HQ and parliament. On the last day of the strike, HKFS students and members of the public stormed past police barricades to reclaim a public area in front of the government HQ called “Civic Square,” which had been sealed off arbitrarily. The police used pepper spray and three key student leaders were arrested and illegally detained. This prompted thousands of citizens to come out and protest, demanding the release of the students. In the early hours of September 27, the civil disobedience campaign **Occupy Central** (OCLP) **was launched**. The next day, **tens of thousands** of people poured into the street and **started occupying main roads** in Admiralty and Wan Chai. The police began to use pepper spray and later, tear gas. The violence outraged people in Hong Kong and up to one hundred thousand people came out on September 29. Since then, the police have held back and the occupation has been going on, with as many as two hundred thousand people occupying four zones across the city in the peak times.

Even if the last protest site got dismantled recently, the Umbrella Movement off-shoot of Occupy Central is continuing civil disobedience

**Kuo 14** writes[[16]](#footnote-16)

**When police dismantled the last protest site of Hong Kong’s pro-democracy movement** earlier this month**, demonstrators pledged that they would be back**. Now that the city has returned to normal, **Umbrella Movement demonstrators** and their supporters **are starting to try out** some of their **new tactics**. A shopping revolution After being kicked out of their protest site in Mong Kok, demonstrators have been going on protest “shopping trips” in the popular commercial center at all hours of the day. (The phrase gauwu geming or “shopping revolution” is also a reference to Chinese tourists who admitted that they participated in a pro-government rally in Hong Kong over the summer to “go shopping.”) Unsurprisingly, the police aren’t amused. Last weekend, 14 protesters were arrested for participating in what authorities said was an illegal assembly. More “shopping” is planned for this weekend, though there is some disagreement between protesters, with accusations that the more moderate demonstrators are only there to get their Christmas shopping done. Protest caroling Just before police cleared the last protest site in Causeway Bay, a church group organized a Christmas street performance where carolers sang a rather politically charged version of “We wish you a Merry Christmas.” The protesters sang in Cantonese, “Whole world remember—elders, middle-aged, young people—[we] need to persist to get universal suffrage. All citizens decide for themselves.” After slipping into English for part of the chorus, they then urged people to participate in protest shopping. They sang, again in Cantonese, “We wish you a shopping trip. We wish you to be careful with the police. Shopping every day. It’s legal to be on pedestrian street.” Groups plan to do more protest caroling throughout the month. Tax tactics **The “Conscientious Tax Resistance Movement” has pledged to make it harder for the Hong Kong government to process taxes by asking people to give the government checks in annoyingly small amounts of HK$6.89,** $68.90 or $689. Critics of the city’s chief executive CY Leung often refer to him as “689,” a snarky reference to the number of votes he received from an election committee to win his current seat. Stamps to help those participating in the “conscientious tax resistance movement.” The stamp on the left says “I want real universal suffrage”(Facebook/taxresistancehk) (Facebook/taxresistancehk) The Hong Kong Federation of Students and **other groups** that organized the Umbrella Movement protests are **argu**ing **that “Taxpayers’ money should not be used to feed a violent government**.” Tenants in public housing have also been asked to delay paying their rent as long as possible without getting evicted. If both campaigns end up proving popular, the impact could be substantial: Hong Kong is home to 2.3 million residents of public housing and 1.74 million taxpayers.

### CCP Collapse Good

CCP rule causes extinction.

**Jin 9** writes[[17]](#footnote-17)

**Over the past 100 years,** there have been all sorts of **autocracies** which have **ruthlessly suppressed human rights.** They brought tremendous tragedy to human society, and created disaster and shame for the entire world. **They** have come to **mark the most miserable pages in human history.** To focus more closely on the factors leading up to these tragedies, we find that all of them are directly linked with conflicts and antagonism between the fundamental concepts of human values. Human society has been treading prudently between conflicts of such contrasting values as liberty and slavery, human rights and oppression, democracy and autocracy, peace and war, etc. These threats that people have had to face in the past have still not been eliminated today, nearly 20 years after the end of the Cold War. Despotism, which used to be symbolised together with anti-civilisation and anti-humanitarianism, has succeeded in concealing its hegemony seeking ambition with money, thus deceiving a contemporary world which has been tainted by material interests, and consequently breeding a new kind of evil. This world is far from becoming more secure and harmonious. Those who harm mankind, **those who create lethal weapons, and those** who stoop to the lowest debasement of human morality by **practicing terrorism - such authoritarian regimes are pervading the** civilised **world**, and international society is merely appeasing them during the change of world hierarchy. The “conflict of civilisations” horror typified by the example of September 11 is a genuine affront to our most basic human concept of "core values" by those totalitarian regimes. International society has neglected another threat which has more horrendous implications to the existence of mankind than the ostensible conflict between Islamic and non-Islamic cultures. Communist China, the colossal despotic stronghold and the ultimate base of the largest number of international terrorists, has been the biggest beneficiary from this crisis, by dividing and seizing economic dominion over the world. In the midst of the financial tsunami which is currently exacerbating the issues facing the world economy, international leadership standards of ethics and behaviour are degenerating. The fortresses of fundamental values have been hastily abandoned by developed nations. Democracies have failed to examine their own short-sightedness in hastily embracing the totalitarian China as Messiah when dealing with their critical economic dilemmas. Due to the enormous economic interests, and the surrender of the idea of liberty in the West, Western democracies are continually making strategic mistakes with disastrous long term ramifications. International society has been compromising and appeasing the Chinese Communist Government, enabling it to grasp at its last efforts for survival, almost 20 years after the collapse of the entire communist camp. In China, **the communist authority has been** doggedly **obstructing** political **reform, and** has been **crushing all** political **dissent by force.** Although the social atmosphere in China is already full of resentment and there have been isolated resistances where society has tried to defend its rights, it is very difficult to form an effective tide of democratic reform to reflect the true aspirations of the Chinese people. Therefore, Chinese people, who represent one quarter of the entire human race, still have not been able to break free from despotism and slavery. To serve their own self interests for continued autocratic rule and international expansion, **the Chinese Communist Party has long been** providing either overt or clandestine support to its North Korean ally, **making North Korea the most volatile “powder keg” which could inflict war** at any time **on**to **a** generally **peaceful** and reluctant **human race.** Because of the Chinese communist government’s diplomatic repression, the highly democratised Republic of China in Taiwan is still isolated in the international environment: the Republic of China in Taiwan is continually facing the threat of communist annexation and military intimidation, and is bulldozed by the communists in all areas, such as economy, trade, culture and international communication, even though the Republic of China in Taiwan has itself achieved progress in socio-politics, economy, culture, education, environment and ecology. After enduring under the ruling of the Chinese Communist Party for half a century, Tibet is facing the crisis of erosion of its “national identity”. The former Shangri-la, the last pure land in the world, has already been diminished to being “a living hell on earth”. Because of the policy of repression and the siege mentality of the Chinese communist authorities, the Free Tibet movement, under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, is still a long way from their political aspiration, which is true autonomy for Tibet. The Chinese democratic movement, fuelled with the objective of bringing an end to the sole leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, in favour of democracy and constitutional politics in China, has been fighting hard towards its goal. Although the objectives of this great democratic movement are to eliminate the threat of autocracy and to promote world civilisation, it has not attracted attention and support from international leaders, and, consequently, is facing difficulties in making any progress. As long as Chinese communist despotism continues to exist, it will continue to be the cause of more human rights tragedies in the China, in Taiwan and Tibet, and will pose potential threats to peace in the Asia Pacific region. We believe that the world should become acutely aware of this alarming crisis and pay more attention to how they respond to China with regards to the long term global implications. It is impossible for China, a super-nation, to experience a systematic transition to a democratic society without the aid and participation of the broader international community. **The fate of China is more and more intertwined with the rest of the world in** this **rapid**ly developing contemporary **globalisation.** **Therefore, China’s future represents a massive influence on the future of [hu]mankind**, changing China is changing the world, **and the key** to this process **is** the promotion and awareness of the priorities of **the Chinese democratic movement.** It is essential for the Chinese democratic movement, the Free Tibet movement, democratic Taiwan and all forces of justice, liberty and democracy in the rest of the world to co-operate sincerely and effectively, to form a robust political alliance to restrain the global expansion of the Communist China. It is crucial for international society to realise that only by supporting and accelerating China’s democratisation and promoting its political reform can the situation of China be changed to improve global peace and stability. We expect that in the near future, that is, around the 100th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911, China, the land which has endured under communism, will have a democratic and federated new China. Perhaps a new historical chapter is to be initiated here. Chinese history and world history will be written by our generation. **Only if China changes** from insulation to openness, autocracy **to democracy, will the future** world **be secure and peaceful.**

CCP collapse is key to Chinese democratic transition – history proves.

**MacFarquhar 6** writes[[18]](#footnote-18)

In the Maoist era, that system was held together by an undisputed leader, a well-disciplined and relatively uncorrupt party, and a doctrine (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism) that gave the Communists the authority to impose Mao Zedong's policies. **Underpinning the whole system were the** soldiers of the **P**eople's **L**iberation **A**rmy. **But,** selflessness, and confidence were undermined by the assaults **it suffered** dur**in**g **the Cultural Revolution.** Afterward, its doctrine was effectively abandoned as part of Deng Xiaoping's reform program. As a result, **in** the 1989 **Tiananmen Square** massacre, **the party proved to be** politically **impotent** and the military had to save the day. Today, China is far richer and the party is co-opting potential opponents, but as Pei shows, **corruption is greater, contempt for legal processes is widespread, and the willingness of China's citizens to protest is increasing every day.** Nobody believes that President Hu Jintao could play the role of imperial ruler to hold the system together. **What could turn this "decaying" system in a more hopeful direction?** The **history** of China's 150-year struggle with modernity **suggests it may require a major shock to the ruling establishment. This first happened** in the war of 1894-95, **when Japan defeated China.** Although the Qing dynasty had suffered defeats to the British and the French earlier in the same century, the Japanese victory was far more traumatic because Beijing thought of its island neighbors as junior partners in the great enterprise of Chinese civilization. In victory, Japan was different. It was a European-style nation state that had proved itself superior to China. **The effect** of this defeat **was dramatic. China's leaders adopted radical reforms**, Confucianism was abandoned as the state doctrine, **and**, in 1912, **the** 2,000-year-old **imperial system was replaced by a republic.** It was the first great revolution of the 20th century.

Chinese authoritarianism spills over globally.

**Friedman 9** writes[[19]](#footnote-19)

Democracy-promoter Larry Diamond concludes in his recent book The Spirit of Democracy that **democracy is in trouble across the world because of the rise of China, an authoritarian superpower that has the economic clout to back and bail out authoritarian regimes around the globe.** “Singapore . . . could foreshadow a resilient form of capitalist-authoritarianism by China, Vietnam, and elsewhere in Asia,” which delivers “booming development, political stability, low levels of corruption, affordable housing, and a secure pension system.” Joined by ever richer and more influential petro powers leveraging the enormous wealth of Sovereign Investment Funds, “**Asia will determine the fate of democracy**,” at least in the foreseeable future. **Authoritarian China**, joined by its authoritarian friends, **is well on the way to defeating the global forces of democracy.**

Democracy is key to solve extinction.

**Diamond 95** writes[[20]](#footnote-20)

Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons continue to proliferate. The very source of life on Earth, the global ecosystem, appears increasingly endangered. Most of these new and unconventional threats to security are associated with or aggravated by the weakness or absence of democracy, with its provisions for legality, accountability, popular sovereignty and openness. The experience of this century offers important lessons. **Countries that govern** themselves **in a truly democratic fashion do not go to war with one another.** They do not aggress against their neighbors to aggrandize themselves or glorify their leaders. Democratic governments do not ethnically "cleanse" their own populations, and **they are much less likely to face ethnic insurgency. Democracies do not sponsor terrorism against one another.** **They do not build w**eapons of **m**ass **d**estruction **to use on or** to **threaten one another.** Democratic countries form more reliable, open, and enduring trading partnerships. In the long run they offer better and more stable climates for investment. **They are more environmentally responsible because they must answer to their own citizens**, who organize to protest the destruction of their environments. They are better bets to honor international treaties since they value legal obligations and because their openness makes it much more difficult to breach agreements in secret. Precisely because, within their own borders, they respect competition, civil liberties, property rights, and the rule of law, **democracies are the only reliable foundation on which** a new world order of **international security** and prosperity **can be built.**

Chinese democracy controls the internal link to US-China relations

**Ting 4** writes[[21]](#footnote-21)

In order **to have a friendly China** in that strategic region of Asia**, the U**nited **S**tates **needs** to have **a government in Beijing advocating a free society and democratic** political s**ystem. That's the** kind of **government the US wants and needs to deal with. With a democratic China** on the other side of Pacific Ocean, **America's strategy to maintain security and expand commercial interests would be greatly enhanced.** And it is not an impossible mission to ask the communist government to loosen its grip of absolute power over the Chinese people, when already Beijing's communist leaders are becoming more moderate with each generation. With the added pressure of calls from Hong Kong and Taiwan for justice and democracy, direct suffrage for all Chinese people should not be unattainable in the foreseeable future. If the current US administration could make good use of its special Taiwan leverage to coordinate a successful package of an authentic "one China" policy with a democratic and market-valued system in China, then **a unified Taiwan and China would become the best ally for the US in** terms of **protecting human rights and curbing** or halting **nuclear** weapon **prolif**eration. **A democratic China would be transformed from a strategic competitor to a friendly partner.**

### No Lashout

CCP lashout is temporary at best and won’t escalate.

**Zakaria 8** writes[[22]](#footnote-22)

So why doesn't the Chinese regime see this? Beijing has a particular problem. Now that communism is dead, **the Communist Party sees its legitimacy as linked to** its role in promoting and **defending Chinese nationalism. It is especially clumsy when it comes to such issues.** Clever technocrats though they are, China's **communist leaders**—mostly engineers—have not had to refine their political skills as they have their economic touch. In the past they **have stoked anti-Japanese and anti-American outbursts, only to panic that things were getting out of control and then reverse course.** They fear that compromising over Tibet would set a precedent for the unraveling of the Chinese nation. **China has grown and shrunk** in size over the centuries, and its dynasties have often been judged by their success in preserving the country's geography.

CCP instability doesn’t cause lashout – empirics prove.

**Newmyer 7** writes[[23]](#footnote-23)

Recent history bears out the continuing relevance of this advice in China. Under Mao and Deng, as Iain Johnston argues, the PRC proved remarkably prone to escalate against other powers. In its first half-century, **at moments of** domestic **tumult and** in periods of **calm alike - from the end of the Civil War through the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the height of the Cultural Revolution to the** relatively **tranquil** mid-19**90s** - **the PRC launched unexpected military operations against the U.S., India, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and the Philippines.** The principal aim of each action was to secure a concrete gain or decisively defeat a foreign power. As Beijing continues to navigate domestic challenges, then, U.S. policy makers would be wise to keep in mind that **internal disorder** itself **has not disposed the PRC to peace or** triggered **aggression.** Rather, the PRC has tended to strike when a rival's guard is perceived to be down, offering an opportunity to inflict a devastating blow.

Democratic transition ensures peace better.

**Hyde 2** writes[[24]](#footnote-24)

As **for East Asia, the stakes posed by China's rapid development could not be higher. The peaceful**, prosperous, and benevolent **system the U.S. has** created and **sustained** for over half a century, **that network of uncoerced relationships** that forms the foundation for the region's embrace of the modern world and the betterment of the lives of hundreds of millions of its people, **could be torn apart by a powerful China bent on domination.** But instead of assaulting it, **a democratic China would very likely** seek to **join that system, for it represents an open door to a new world**, one which can guarantee that China's miraculous transformation will continue and allow the Chinese people to assume their rightful place among the free nations of the world.

## CCP Collapse Good (Post-NDT Updates)

### China Demo

**Chinese democracy solves global democratic peace**

**Gilley, 5** -- New School international affairs professor

[Bruce, New School University, former contributing editor at the Far Eastern Economic Review, China’s Democratic Future, 2005, 246-8, accessed 2009]

If it has not already been brought into serious question by the continued spread of democracy to every corner of the world, Samuel Huntington's thesis of **a world dominated by** a "**clash of civilizations**" rent between a liberal and progressive West and a conservative and benighted "other" **should be given a final burial by China's embrace of democracy**. **It will confirm** that **the real** **clash** in our world **remains** a clash of **just versus unjust political conceptions**, between dictatorship and democracy or minimal democracy and full democracy, **not between** some **imagined, essentialized**, and monoistic "**cultures**." **The very terms "East" and "West" will finally be exposed as so bereft of** any cultural or **social meaning as to be virtually useless in our modern world** except as geographic shorthand. Still, if democracy is merely the most efficient and fair mechanism for organizing a polity—any polity—then its meaning will continue to change as each finds new ways to improve that mechanism. While "history" as defined by the monumental struggle between the notion of the political equality of individuals and rival conceptions appears to have ended, it will go on being spun out in competing conceptions of democracy. Debates about issues like compulsory voting, fair electoral systems, money in politics, judicial review, and the like will be the dominant "historical" issues of our time. As an ongoing experiment in best-practice politics, democracy is sure to be influenced by its practice in **China**, which will come to the game with a **rich tradition of indigenous innovation and,** arguably, **deeper** cultural **roots in** the **essential principles** of democracy **such as tolerance, compromise, and egalitarianism. How will democracy change as a result? There has been much** recent **discussion** in the West **of a "democratic malaise" where the** associational and **norms**-oriented life **of** a **democracy is breaking down**. Many **scholars see the democratic waves of the past as having ended and the old democracies in a state of slow regression.** Some countries are thought to be stuck in minimal democracies of dispersed power but not true equality. To some, **the value of political power is unequal, some freedoms more cared for than others, and economic justice unachieved**. If modern-day social contractarians are right, **a failure to achieve these things make a democracy's claim to goodness very thin indeed. It is here** that **China's democratization may play a vital role**. Most Chinese scholars harbor the hope that **China will "surpass" traditional forms of democracy** as **practiced in the rest of the world**—**especially the imagined "Western model"—and introduce to the world a new system that will be "even better."'** This is the so-called "surpass sentiment" (chaoyue qlngxu) mentioned earlier. Of course, there is not a little bit of cultural chauvinism at work here, the desire for China to retake its rightful place as the dispenser of civilization to the world's benighted peoples, especially the stubbornly dynamic West. Even so, **we should not rule out, nor rue, the possibility** that **China will pioneer a unique version of democracy**. As one Western scholar notes: "**It remains** **possible** that some day the Asian, perhaps even **the Chinese, vision of the best form of government will become the dominant vision."**' **If so, it would be a cause for celebration because everyone benefits when a more just system is available**. **Many Chinese scholars conjure up a new form of political order that is both strongly democratic and strongly social-oriented**. One talks of **the emergence of** a "**creative ambiguity**," in China which defies easy labels, **in which a "mixed economy**" with a state sector **will exist alongside "mixed politics" with elements of both liberal** democracy **and social democracy**.4 Others seem to echo classical republican political theorists of the West with dreams of "deliberative democracy" (shangyi minzhu)l or "policy democracy" (zhengce minzhu) in which people's considered views on issues actually translate into outcomes .6 Here, **elections lose their** pride of **place as the hallmark of democracy, being replaced by other mechanisms for contesting state power and proposing interests and views of the good**. **One Chinese scholar anticipates a vast laboratory of democratic experimentation which, given the sheer size of the country, would create a whole new lexicon of democratic forms and theories**: "There are actual opportunities for transcending historically known systems and they might be seized by a conscious people."7 There is much here that meshes with recent thinking on democracy in the West, which stresses issues like social capital, popular deliberation, equality of political opportunity, and more. In other words, **the ongoing struggle to move from mere formal democracy to** a **substantive democracy of equal citizens will be helped by China. Its efforts** at "real democracy**" may inspire and push established democracies to "deepen" their** own **democratic experiences**. One Indian author has said that "the future of Western political theory will be decided outside the West," noting, rightly, that India would loom large in that experience.' One could not but add China. Indeed, **given that it was never imprinted with colonialism and given its long isolation from Western theory, China's impact may be much greater.** Notes one scholar: "The final destination of the search remains veiled, **but China's preoccupation with local innovation and adaptation certainly goes beyond** mere **rhetoric.**"9 **Even without** any **major innovations** in the practice of democracy emanating from China, **the mere adoption of this long-evolving and never-perfected system by the largest country in the world** and one of its most ancient **will have a profound effect**

**on deepening democracy. Just as the fall of the Berlin Wall reinstated** some **confidence in liberal regimes**, and **just as the collapse of authoritarian regimes in Asia** has **undermined** **advocates of soft authoritarianism** there, so too **China's democracy may shore up** the loss of interest in the West about **democracy**. To return to a quotation cited earlier, **China's democratization will** probably **transform global politics at every level. It will mean** that **roughly three quarters of the world's population lives in democratic states, creating "an historic opportunity to bring a truly democratic world into being**," notes one scholar."' **Relations among the world's peoples could for the first time be governed according to the same norms that apply to their domestic polities**. **Much of this had** already **begun** in the post-cold war era **as new democracies in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America forged alliances grounded in these norms. With China aligned with that global movement, the possibilities for positive change will be immense.**

**Democratic Transition**

**CCP cred blocks democratic transition**

**Lui, 8** -- UC Santa Barbara Chinese political culture professor

[Alan P., University of California Santa Barbara political science professor emeritus specializing in contemporary Chinese political culture and development, China Review International,” 3-22-8, China’s Democratic Future: How It Will Happen and Where It Will Lead,” l/n, accessed 2009]

At the same time, **Chinese society has been undergoing rapid changes because of increasing exposure to the West. New ideas about justice,** individualism, **democracy, and** a feel for **community have spread far and wide** in the country. **More and more Chinese have gone abroad** as tourists, **and** they **know how ridiculous the CCP** system **is. An increasing number of** urban **people are organizing** into **civil society**-type **groups**, with the help of the media. **These constitute facilitating conditions for** a **mass movement for democracy**. **A major crisis** of any kind **would galvanize these** new **forces and confront the CCP,** in the styles of the People Power in the Philippines in 1986 or the Velvet Revolution in Eastern Europe in 1989. According to Gilley, **when the moment comes for democracy, an insider—maybe a closet reformer** in the CCP—**would come forth** to take the lead. **This is the Russian path; someone like Gorbachev** or Yeltsin **would guide the Chinese push toward democracy**. **Gilley** called this the “extrication” model. He **is banking on the** People’s Liberation Army’s (**PLA) not wanting to repeat its bloody deeds in** 19**89**; **the PLA** had **learned the lesson** (so Gilley believes). Then **an interim regime will follow to open up the political system, hold elections**, enact new legislation to **establish rule of law, keep the bureaucracy together, and plan rationally for democratization.** Finally, **the new government would consolidate democracy** by writing a new constitution, carrying out a national election based on proportionate representation, organizing a federalist political system, installing a government structure resembling Sun Yat-sen’s five branches (adding “special Chinese” departments of anticorruption and civil service examination to the usual legislative-judiciary-executive model).

[Matt note: Gilley = Bruce Gilley, New School University international affairs professor]

**Labor Scenario**

**A labor-led, united transition founded in social justice is underway now- only the plan derails it**

**Chen, 14** – In These Times contributing editor

[Michelle, CultureStrike associate editor, co-producer of “Asia Pacific Forum” on Pacifica's WBAI and Dissent Magazine's “Belabored” podcast, "Could China’s Labor Unrest Spark Another Tiananmen Moment?" The Nation, 6-9-14, www.thenation.com/blog/180161/could-chinas-labor-unrest-spark-another-tiananmen-moment#, accessed 9-28-14]

The thing is, the majority will make itself heard regardless. And **China’s working class hasn’t disappeared since Tiananmen**’s bloodbath; **it is diversifying and** in some sectors, **getting angrier**. According to data from the Hong Kong–based NGO China Labour Bulletin, **there have been more than 700 labor**-related **uprisings in the past year**, and since 2011, more than 1,500 protests, strikes and other “mass incidents” have ensued, ranging from clashes with management over back wages to road blockages to taxi worker strikes. There are no official independent unions (just a massive state-sponsored All China Confederation of Trade Unions), but **workers are growing increasingly savvy at manipulating tech**nology **to spread their message** and extract concessions from management. When their store was slated for closure, aggrieved workers at a Walmart in the Hunan city of Changde blockaded the store and demanded negotiations over severance pay for employees fearing sudden layoffs. Led by a maverick local leader of the usually conciliatory state-run union, workers recently rebuffed the retail giant’s settlement offer, demanding extra payment to compensate for “breach of contract.” Labor unrest is also emerging among the migrant workforce—a more diffuse wave of activism driven by some of the most exploited workers, often in precarious industries, who are typically isolated from both their rural home communities and from the urban societies where they work. Guangdong, a hub of foreign investment and migrant labor, has percolated with labor militancy at multinational firms. In April, for example, an historic strike involving some 40,000 workers exploded at a Taiwanese-owned Yue Yuen shoe factory, shaking up the supply chains of Adidas and Nike. But **the state** is also adapting to these new currents of strife. Just as the regime’s neoliberal reforms effectively bought the silence of the intelligentsia with consumptive prosperity, it now **seeks to contain (and** ultimately **neutralize) workers’ unrest through formal civil legal channels**. For material disputes over, for example, wage arrears, the state encourages workers and advocates to take to the courts rather than the streets. The logic of the gradualist, legalistic approach to labor empowerment is appealing. Han Dongfang, a worker who protested at Tiananmen and now heads China Labour Bulletin, argued in New Left Review in 2005: Will you put your trust in gathering tens of thousands of people onto the streets, or in seeking legal help from a lawyer? Most Chinese people believe in the former rather than the latter.… This is what we are trying to do—to solve existing social problems through existing legal systems. In a sense, you could call it a cultural project: encouraging people to trust in peaceful negotiations. That kind of confidence is needed for a healthier development of the country in the future. However, China scholars Eli Friedman and Ching Kwan Lee have observed that unrest has actually increased during periods of legal reform. Despite more formal rights, workers remain constrained by anemic enforcement, unresponsive leadership from the management-friendly official union and, generally, labor violations on such an epidemic scale that the fundamental problems can’t be resolved on an individual basis: The rise of rights consciousness is outgrowing institutional capacity to meet or contain workers’ demands. Workers have more rights on paper—and are more aware of them—than ever before. But in reality they have little leverage in their places of employment, and the protection that their interests receive from the courts and the government is uneven at best. Not surprisingly, worker protests do not look as if they will disappear from Chinese life anytime soon. But they may yet spread in another direction: **as consciousness of labor rights solidifies, higher-ranked workers and even managers have** sometimes **taken the lead in workplace uprisings, with labor demands that galvanize unrest in the lower ranks**. **The** moments of **convergence between upper- and lower-tier employees** faintly **echoes the** brief cross-sector **solidarity that protesters displayed at Tiananmen.** If a conception of legal justice can form the basis for a new class consciousess, **it could seed the germ of a collective social movement.** **But only if workers believe that existing institutions are doing more to derail change than to shepherd it**. Under the current political climate—fueled by repression, nationalist fervor and economic boom times—activists face daunting obstacles to building a mass consciousness amid a systematically depoliticized, individualistic social landscape. Still, the social order is hardly seamless. Protests regularly erupt—in factories, in communities enraged by local pollution, or among farmers resisting land grabs. But such localized unrest hasn’t been fully harnessed into a wider political consciousness. Or **will the next political spark emerge from a more organic sense of social justice? The massive Yue Yuen uprising, after all, began with a straightforward protest about unpaid** social insurance **pensions**: a recent retiree reportedly complained that her payments fell short of what she was entitled to after years spent working her way up to management; she joined the plant in her twenties in 1989. The strike capped a narrative about twenty-five years in the making. Maybe today, a quarter-century on, **Tiananmen’s** unredeemed **legacy is coming due** as well.

**Turns Lashout**

**Autocracy makes lashout inevitable- try or die**

**Friedman, 2k** -- University of Wisconsin-Madison Political Science chair

(Edward, University of Wisconsin-Madison Hawkins Chair of Political Science and professor, former China specialist on the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, “Preventing War Between China and Japan,” in What if China Doesn’t Democratize?, ed. By Friedman and McCormick, 2000, 111)

Yet many American analysts treat Chinese words of pure defensiveness as gospel. **It**, however, **was** not Lee Teng-hui's alleged provocativeness, but **changes in China,** including a growing anti-Japanese nationalism **that sparked Beijing's military action against Taiwan in** Summer 19**95** **and** 19**96**. **Unless there are changes in Chinese politics, more military action should be expected from Beijing if Taiwan does not capitulate**.36 **This threat to the peace is real and new**. There was no Chinese irredentism toward Taiwan from the Mao camp before the 1943 Cairo Conference, when Nationalist Party leader Chiang Kai-shek persuaded the Allies arrayed against Showa-era Japanese military expansionism to agree to give Taiwan to Chiang's Republic of China after imperial Japan's armies, which had first occupied Taiwan in the Meiji era, were defeated. It is not surprising that Taiwan had not been part of Mao's nationalism, since during the many millennia of Chinese history, Taiwan had never been a province of China until the expansionist imperialism of the Manchu Empire, and then, for just one decade. (Mongolia is unique in having regained its independence after the fall of Manchu imperialism in 1911.) When Chiang's forces fled from Mao's conquering army to safety on Taiwan in 1949, Mao treated Taiwan mainly as a home to a defeated civil war military force that wrongly sat in Beijing's rightful seat in international bodies. Mao saw no need for a war over Taiwan in his lifetime. For the post-Mao generation out to build up China, Taiwan might be seen as a partner in a common project. After all, Taiwan is a major source of foreign exchange helping to speed China's economic growth, a partner in trade, a well-spring of foreign investment, a part of a huge tourist influx. There was no cross-straits civil war. Millions of people from the mainland of China and the island of Taiwan went back and forth peacefully. It is possible to imagine European Common Market—style mutual benefit. Indeed **were China to democratize** and federalize or confederate, **it would swiftly become irresistibly attractive to Taiwanese**. **It is dictatorship in China which perpetuates war-prone division.**

**2NC Regional Cooperation**

**Chinese pollution causes surrounding states to backlash—destroys regional cooperation – causes senkakdu war**

**Nankivell 6**—Nathan Nankivell, Senior Researcher at the Office of the Special Advisor Policy, Maritime Forces Pacific Headquarters, Canadian Department of National Defence [1/11/2006, “China's Pollution and the Threat to Domestic and Regional Stability,” ZMag, http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/4632]

**Nationalists in surrounding states could use pollution as a rallying point to muster support for anti-Chinese causes**. For example, **attacks on China's environmental management for its impact on surrounding states like Japan, could be used to argue against further investment in the country or be highlighted during territorial disputes in the East China Sea to agitate anti-Chinese sentiment**. While **nationalism** does not imply conflict, it **could reduce patterns of cooperation in the region and hopes for balanced and effective multilateral institutions and dialogues.** Finally, China's seemingly insatiable appetite for timber and other resources, such as fish, are fuelling illegal exports from nations like Myanmar and Indonesia. As these states continue to deplete key resources, they too will face problems in the years to come and hence the impact on third nations must be considered.

**Environment IL**

**Democratization is key to save the environment**

**Zhang et al. 14** (Dongyong Zhang 1,2, Junjuan Liu 1 and Bingjun Li 1,\* College of Information and Management Science, Henan Agricultural University, Center for International Earth Science Information Network, The Earth Institute, Columbia University, Tackling Air Pollution in China—What do We Learn from the Great Smog of 1950s in LONDON http://www.mdpi.com/2071-1050/6/8/5322/htm#sthash.wA3LOoHc.dpuf)

**Environmental degradation is the result of the single-minded pursuit of economic strength without democratic accountability** [29]. The **development of Taiwan’s environmentalism is closely synchronized with successive stages in transition to democracy**, **and environmental protests** in Taiwan in the 1980s over pollution caused by the island’s industrialization improved people’s sense of political efficacy and pushed Chiang Ching-Kuo to lift martial law in 1987, which ushered in Taiwan’s process of democratization [30]. Although it is bold to say mainland China will follow Taiwan’s step and the social unrest caused by mainland China’s pollution could bring about democracy, **it is evident that high profile protests against various polluting industries and the recent shocking air quality in mainland Chinese cities have helped place the environment at the center stage in Chinese politics**. Chinese official media used to describe the country’s pollution problem as a necessary but temporary consequence of its economic transformation, but the heavy smog in early 2013 has made poisonous air the become lead item in the prime-time news, broadcast continuously by the state broadcaster China Central Television. The report was not just extensive, but also critical.

Why the change of tone? “**Leaders are aware that people can wait 20 years or more for democracy but they cannot wait that long for clean air**,” says the editor of China Dialogue, which covers environmental issues in China [31]. **Companies in China often ignore the environmental laws because of loose enforcement, weak penalties and a prevailing attitude of “I have money hence I can do anything”.** However, **several successful public protests in recent years against polluting projects give China the hope of achieving democracy through environmental issues**. The new Environment Protection Law proposed the mechanism of transparency promotion, which includes requiring companies to monitor and report real-time pollution data, clearly specifying criminal penalties for those who evade such monitoring systems or forge monitoring data [32]. In addition, **the new law forbids improperly operating pollution prevention equipment and holds government agencies responsible for disseminating information publicly** [33]. The new Law also moves close to democracy by permitting civil society organizations to initiate public interest lawsuits on behalf of citizens.

**2NC Impact – Inner Mongoloia**

**Chinese environmental crisis will cause inner Mongolian collapse**

**Chunshan, 6/13/2011** (Mu – Beijing-based journalist, Why Inner Mongolia Matter, The Diplomat, p. http://thediplomat.com/china-power/why-inner-mongolia-matters/)

**Inner Mongolia** certainly **hasn’t been a peaceful place recently, due** mainly **to unrest prompted by** the conflict there between economic and **environmental interests,** specifically the coal mining activities of the Han Chinese and the farmlands that the Mongolians depend on for a living. Last month, a Mongolian herder was killed, apparently for refusing to let coal trucks pass through the grasslands out of concern for the noise and pollution being caused. Following the herder’s death, protests involving hundreds of people erupted in the north-eastern region of Inner Mongolia. Among those protesting were students, who staged a sit-down protest against the government and demanded severe punishment for the ‘murderer.’ (The trucker was convicted and sentenced to death last week). At a press conference held by local authorities, officials promised to promptly and strictly deal with the matter, but this wasn’t enough to quell growing anger. A text message urging a mass protest on May 30 began to circulate widely, and anxious local authorities dispatched a large number of military police to Hohhot and Xilin Gol; university students were even briefly stopped from attending school. Inner Mongolia Communist Party Secretary Hu Chunhua, who is widely seen as a key member of the party’s sixth generation leadership, personally met the students, calling for calm and restraint. He also said that the government would properly handle the challenge of encouraging economic development while ensuring the environment is protected. But a criminal case that should have been simple to resolve has become complicated due to a number of factors – ethnicity, economics and social tensions. **Of China’s five autonomous regions**, economic growth has been strongest in Inner Mongolia, with few protests and relative ethnic and social harmony. Yet in some ways, this **harmony has been superficial, and the incident involving the death of the herder highlights one of the big problems facing the region, namely how high GDP growth has come at the expense of many farmers’ livelihoods, adversely affecting the environment** in the process. Against this backdrop, senior communist party officials held a meeting to discuss measures to strengthen and rejuvenate public administration. The media interpreted the meetings as the Chinese Communist Party finally acknowledging some of the defects of China’s economic growth model, and the serious social problems it can create. **Many** Chinese **scholars are concerned that those hoping to see China destabilized will see this incident as a new opening**. China should therefore remain vigilant over the possibility that the **unrest in Inner Mongolia will be exploited by those seeking independence in Tibet, Xinjiang, Taiwan and elsewhere. If these** current **tensions** really **are exploited, it could spark major social unrest around China**.

**Breakup causes nuclear war**

**Economist, 3/18/1995** (A long, hard road, p. Lexis-Nexis)

**Fragmentation** along military lines **might produce** responsible generals in some areas and **warlords** in others. **The weapons factories and nuclear arsenals** deep in the western provinces **would be disputed prizes. Any** sort of **break-up would increase the chances of local conflicts along volatile borders, particularly** in places with rich energy reserves -- for example, **off the South China coast, where China is** one of six countries **claiming ownership of the Spratly Islands** and the oil-fields that may surround them; in the north-east, where China's main onshore oil fields are located **and where Russia is at its most unruly**; and the Tarim basin of Xinjiang, which has a Muslim minority and Muslim neighbours.

**2NC Impact – Water**

**Pollution will cause 750 thousand deaths annually, and collapses water supply.**

**Economy 13** (Elizabeth, The Diplomat, “China’s Water Pollution Crisis”, http://thediplomat.com/2013/01/forget-air-pollution-chinas-has-a-water-problem/)

In recent weeks, **Chinese and western media have been all atwitter over** **the shocking levels of air pollution in Beijing and a number of other Chinese cities**. But it really shouldn’t be all that shocking. After all, in 2007, the World Bank and China’s own State Environmental Protection Administration (now the Ministry of Environmental Protection) found that that **as many as 750,000 people die prematurely in China annually from respiratory disease related to air pollution**. And more recently, Greenpeace Beijing reported that in 2011 in four major cities, more than 8,000 people died prematurely as a result of just one pollutant, PM 2.5. Anyone who spends any time in Beijing knows that the city has not yet found a way to tackle the myriad sources of air pollution from construction to cars to coal.

**As frightening as the country’s smog-filled skies** might be, **the country’s water pollution is easily as alarming**. According to one 2012 report, “**up to 40 percent of China’s rivers were seriously polluted**” and “**20 percent were so polluted their water quality was rated too toxic even to come into contact with**.” Part of the explanation may rest in the “estimated **10,000 petrochemical plants along the Yangtze and 4000 along the Yellow Rivers**.” (And the Yellow and Yangtze are not even the most polluted of China’s seven major rivers.) **On top of whatever polluted wastewater might be leaching or simply dumped into China’s rivers from these factories**, the Ministry of Supervision reports that there are almost **1,700 water pollution accidents annually.** The total cost in terms of human life: **60,000 premature deaths annually**.

While the macro picture is concerning, even more worrying is that individual Chinese don’t know whether their water is safe to drink or not. A Chinese newspaper, the Southern Weekly, recently featured an interview with a married couple, both of whom are water experts in Beijing (available in English here). They stated that they hadn’t drunk from the tap in twenty years, and have watched the **water quality deteriorate significantly over just the past few years**, **even while state officials claim that more than 80 percent of water leaving treatmen**t facilities met government standards in 2011.

**That causes China to build dams --- sparks Indo/Pak war**

**Brennan**, September **2008** (James – Lieutenant in the U.S. Navy, The China-India-Pakistan Water Crisis: Prospects for Interstate Conflict, p. http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA488648)

This thesis examines how China’s growing water requirements may affect Beijing’s relations with South Asia. **China’s shrinking water resources may lead Beijing to build dams** and take other actions **on the Tibetan Plateau** in order to address this growing concern.1 The Tibetan Plateau serves as an untapped resource for China and is the origin of many neighboring countries essential water supplies. More specifically, **the Tibetan Plateau is the origin of India and Pakistan’s great rivers** – the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra. The decision to focus on the Tibetan Plateau as a solution to China’s water crisis will likely will affect the Brahmaputra River, essential to India. Additionally, although less likely due to geographical challenges, **Beijing’s decision to dam Tibetan rivers could** also **impact the Indus and Ganges River, essential to India and Pakistan. The ongoing tension between India and Pakistan over critical water resources in** the **Kashmir** region **sets the stage for increased regional tension if Beijing moves forward** with its proposed plans. **The consequences of such actions could include a degradation of** recently improved **relations** among these countries, **and** even to **armed conflict**.

**Extinction**

**The New Scientist, 10/3/2007** (Regional Nuclear War Could Trigger Mass Starvation, p. http://www.newscientist.com/article/dn12728-regional-nuclear-war-could-trigger-mass-starvation.html)

A nuclear war between India and Pakistan could cause **one billion people to starve** to death around the world, and hundreds of millions more to die from disease and conflicts over food. That is the horrifying scenario being presented in London today by a US medical expert, Ira Helfand. A conference at the Royal Society of Medicine will also hear new evidence of the severe damage that such a war could inflict on the ozone layer. "A limited nuclear war taking place far away poses a threat that should concern **everyone on the planet**," Helfand told New Scientist. This was not scare mongering, he adds: "It is appropriate, given the data, to be frightened." Helfand is an emergency-room doctor in Northampton, Massachusetts, US, and a co-founder of the US anti-nuclear group, Physicians for Social Responsibility. In his study he attempted to map out the global consequences of India and Pakistan exploding 100 Hiroshima-sized nuclear warheads. Global hoarding Earlier studies have suggested that such a conflict would throw five million tonnes of black soot into the atmosphere, triggering a reduction of 1.25°C in the average temperature at the earth's surface for several years. As a result, the annual growing season in the world's most important grain-producing areas would shrink by between 10 and 20 days. Helfand points out that the world is ill-prepared to cope with such a disaster. "Global grain stocks stand at 49 days, lower than at any point in the past five decades," he says. "These stocks would not provide any significant reserve in the event of a sharp decline in production. We would see hoarding on a global scale." Countries which import more than half of their grain, such as Malaysia, South Korea and Taiwan, would be particularly vulnerable, Helfand argues. So, too, would 150 million people in north Africa, which imports 45% of its food. Many of the 800 million around the world who are already officially malnourished would also suffer. Large-scale impacts on food supplies from global cooling are credible because they have happened before, Helfand says. The eruption of the Indonesian volcano Tambora in 1815 produced the "year without a summer" in 1816, causing one of the worst famines of the 19th century. Mass starvation The global death toll from a nuclear war in Asia "could exceed one billion from starvation alone", Helfand concludes. Food shortages could also trigger epidemics of cholera, typhus and other diseases, as well as armed conflicts, which together could kill "hundreds of millions". Another study being unveiled at today's conference suggests that the smoke unleashed by 100, small, 15 kiloton nuclear warheads could **destroy 30-40%** of the world's ozone layer. This would kill off some food crops, according to the study's author, Brian Toon, an atmospheric scientist from the University of Colorado in Boulder, US. The smoke would warm the stratosphere by up to 50°C, **accelerating the natural reactions that attack ozone**, he says. "No-one has ever thought about this before," he adds, "I think there is a potential for mass starvation." Such dire predictions are not dismissed by nuclear experts, though they stress the large uncertainties involved. The fallout from a nuclear war between India and Pakistan "would be far more devastating for other countries than generally appreciated," says John Pike, director of the US think tank, globalsecurity.org. "Local events can have global consequences." Dan Plesch from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, agrees that **everyone is at risk from a limited nuclear war**. "We live in a state of denial that our fate can be determined by decisions in Islamabad and New Delhi as much as in Washington and Moscow," he says.

**Unsus 1NC**

**CCP collapse is inevitable, attempting to save it in the short term will lead to an inevitable long term *economic* collapse.**

--outsider knowledge is assumed to be true but fails to understand iner party workings

--institutional and systemetic defects

--power struggle leading to war thesis is wrong, it’s more likely to cause factionalism but that means that party survival is impossible.

--corruption causes predatory behavior and leads to economic collapse, and hurts environmental protection

**Pei 12** (Minxin, Tom and Margot Pritzker ’72 Professor of Government and director of the Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies at Claremont McKenna College., “is ccp rule fragile or resilient?” Journal of Democracy, Volume 23, Number 1, January 2012, pp. 27-41 (Article) DOI: 10.1353/jod.2012.0008)

**There is a sharp and intriguing discrepancy between how strong autocracies seem to outsiders** **and how insecure the rulers themselves feel**. **Autocrats are constantly on guard** **against forces that pose even the slightest threat to their rule**, **expending tremendous resources and taking excessively harsh and repressive measures in the process**. But **if authoritarian regimes really were so strong,** **then such costly measures motivated by insecurity would be self-defeating and counterproductive**: They would be unnecessary and, by wasting a regime’s scarce resources, would undermine its long-term survival. So why is there this discrepancy? The answer is quite simple: **The authoritarian strength that outsiders perceive is merely an illusion.** **Insiders**—the authoritarians themselves—**possess information about the regime’s weaknesses that outsiders know little about**. These weaknesses make authoritarians feel insecure and prompt them to act accordingly.

**The resilience of China’s authoritarian regime may be a temporary phenomenon**, **fated to succumb eventually to autocracy’s institutional and systemic defects.** **These defects are inherent features of autocratic systems and therefore uncorrectable**. Thus **the measures that the CCP has taken since the early 1990s to strengthen its rule** (regardless of how effective they may have been) **merely serve to offset somewhat the deleterious effects that these flaws have on regime survival. In the long run**, **China’s authoritarian regime is likely to lose its resilience.**

Ironically, **an authoritarian regime’s short-term success can imperil its long-term survival and effectiveness**. Success, defined in terms of suppressing political opposition and defending a **political monopoly**, **makes it more likely that** **authoritarians**, **unrestrained by political opposition**, free media, **and the rule of law**, **will engage in looting and theft**, **inevitably weakening the regime’s capacity for survival**.

**Authoritarian regimes tend to breed corruption** for a variety of reasons. A principal cause is the **relatively short time horizon of autocrats**, **whose hold on power is tenuous, uncertain, and insecure**. **Even where the rules of succession and promotion have improved**, as they have in China, **such improvement is only relative to the previous state of affairs**. **Succession at the top remains opaque and unpredictable in China**. **Although** the top leadership has managed to reach compromises through **bargaining**, thereby **avoiding destabilizing power struggles**, **succession politics continues to be mired in intrigue and factionalism**. In the case of promotion, the only objective rule appears to be an age requirement; all the other factors that are supposedly merit-based can be gamed. The fact that many officials resort to bribery to gain promotions indicates that personal favoritism continues to play an important role in internal Party promotions.21

**All this renders uncertain the political future** of members of the CCP hierarchy **and thus encourages predatory behavior**. There is evidence that **corruption has worsened in China** in recent years despite periodic anticorruption campaigns launched by the CCP.22 More important, **because of the deep and extensive involvement of the Chinese party-state in the economy**, **the combination of motives** (driven by **uncertainty**) **and** **opportunity** (access to economic rents) **can create** an ideal environment for regime insiders to engage in **collusion**, looting, and theft.

**Corruption endangers the long-term survival of authoritarian regimes in several ways**. It **can hinder economic growth**, thus **reducing the regime’s political legitimacy and capacity to underwrite a costly patronage system and maintain its repressive apparatus**. Corruption also **contributes to rising inequality by benefiting a small number of wellconnected elites at the expense of public welfare**, thus further fueling antiregime sentiments and social tensions. Corruption **creates a highrisk environment**, **making it difficult to enforce regulations governing** the workplace, **food and drugs**, traffic, and **environmental safety**, thereby **increasing the risks of accidents and disasters and the likelihood of mismanaged government responses to them.23**

**Senkaku Defense**

**no military capability and no escalation**

**Park 12** International Affairs Review Sungtae Park is a M.A. Security Policy Studies student at the George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs. He has also written articles for CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies) and Brandeis International Journal.http://www.iar-gwu.org/node/434

**There are** also **logistical reasons why a war over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands is unlikely.** It is generally believed that **neither China nor Japan at the moment has the military capability to wage a full-scale conventional war against the other. If China and Japan were to fight a war, the initial fighting would take place on water. The Chinese navy is mainly oriented towards coastal defense and does not have effective naval capabilities to project its power beyond the so-called “first island chain.”**  The Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands are part of the first island chain, but **the Chinese military would have to stretch its naval capability to the limit in order to fight a war at that point. Even China’s on-going naval modernization is primarily for defensive purposes. The Japanese navy,** on the other hand, does have some capability to project its power, but it **is very limited.**

**The Japanese military also does not have adequate ground forces to conduct fighting on the Chinese mainland. Even if violence breaks out, such a conflict would be very limited in scope and is highly unlikely that it would turn into a general war or escalate to a nuclear conflict.**  A more uncertain factor that must be considered is that **the security treaty between the U**nited **S**tates **and Japan** extends to the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. The treaty makes it possible for the United States to become involved in a military conflict. So far, Washington has taken a neutral stance between China and Japan . **The U**nited **S**tates **is opposed to any violent solution and shares concerns**, particularly economic, **with** both **China and Japan about the consequences of a general war.** Any major conflict between China and Japan would kill the prospects of global economic recovery. Furthermore, because any conflict between China and Japan would be limited at best, **any U.S. involvement due to its security obligation would most likely be limited as well.** In examining the potential for the use of military force, one must consider both intent and capability. **Neither China nor Japan has the intent or the capability to fight a war over** the **Senkaku**/Diaoyu Islands. **While** the **rhetoric** between the two countries **may be fierce, it remains subject to reality**.

**Peaceful Transition**

**PLA will never allow lashout**

**Gilley, 5** -- New School international affairs professor

[Bruce, New School University, former contributing editor at the Far Eastern Economic Review, China’s Democratic Future, 2005, 114]

More ominous as a piece of "last ditchism" would be an attack on Taiwan. U.S. officials and many overseas democrats believe that there is a significant chance of an attack on Taiwan if the CCP is embattled at home. Indeed, China's strategic journals make frequent reference to this contingency: "The need for military preparations against Taiwan is all the more pressing in light of China's growing social tensions and unstable factors which some people, including the U.S. might take advantage of under the flag of 'humanism' to paralyze the Chinese government," one wrote. Such a move would allow the government to impose martial law on the country as part of war preparations, making the crushing of protest easier. It would also offer the possibility, if successful, of CCP survival through enhanced nationalist legitimacy. Yet **the risks, even to a dying regime, may be too high**. **An unprovoked attack on Taiwan would almost certainly bring the U.S. and its allies to the island's rescue**. **Those forces would not stop at Taiwan but might march on Beijing and oust the CCP**, **or attempt to do so through stiff sanctions,** calling it a threat to regional and world peace. **Such an attack might also face the opposition of the peoples of Fujian, who would be expected to** provide logistical support and possibly **bear the worst burdens of war. They, like much of coastal China, look to Taiwan for investment and culture and have a close affinity with the island**. As a result, **there are doubts about whether such a plan could be put into action**. **A failed war would prompt a Taiwan declaration** **of independence and a further backlash against the CCP** at home, just as the May Fourth students of 1919 berated the Republican government for weakness in the face of foreign powers. **Failed wars brought down authoritarian regimes in Greece and Portugal** in 1974 **and** in **Argentina** in 1983. **Even if CCP leaders wanted war, it is unlikely** that **the PLA would oblige. Top officers would see the disastrous implications of attacking Taiwan. Military caution would** also **guard against the even wilder scenario of the use of** **nuclear weapons against Japan or the U. S.** At the height of the Tiananmen protests it appears there was consideration given to the use of nuclear weapons in case the battle to suppress the protestors drew in outside Countries .41 But even then, the threats did not appear to gain even minimal support. **In an atmosphere in which the military is thinking about its future, the resort to nuclear confrontation would not make sense.**

**Transition will be peaceful and stable- China absorbed lessons from Taiwanese democracy**

**Deutsche Welle Asia, 12**

["Could Taiwan's democracy serve as a model for China?" 1-12-12, l/n, accessed 4-2-12]

As **Taiwan** gears up for elections at the weekend, analysts ask whether it could serve as a model for mainland China, considering it **has successfully demonstrated that democracy and Confucian values are compatible.** China's President Hu Jintao warned the cadres of the Communist Party last year against Western influence on China. "International hostile powers" are trying to influence China culturally and ideologically, he wrote in the Communist Party magazine Qiushi. His differentiation between Western and Chinese values is reminiscent of a debate triggered by the then prime minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, in the 1990s. He held Asian values such as diligence, thrift and respect for authority, and the fact that society came before the individual, as responsible for the economic miracle in East Asia. He said that Asian values and liberal Western democracy were not compatible. His stance received considerable support from Malaysia and the People's Republic of China. "It was about legitimizing their own rule," said Gunter Schubert, Professor for Greater China Studies at Tübingen University. "About securing their own claims to power." **Taiwan**, however, **offers an example of stable democracy in a Chinese context**. The opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was formed in 1986 and a year later the ruling Kuomintang lifted martial law. The first free presidential elections took place in 1996 with the Kuomintang losing power for the first time since 1949 four years later. **The government has been voted out of power twice** in the past 15 years **and the upcoming elections could well lead to another change** of government. **The transition of power is likely to take place without any undue chaos or confusion**. Aurel **Croissant from Heidelberg University is convinced** that **Taiwan's impressive democratization process has had an indirect impact on mainland China. "Taiwan has shown** that **democracy and Chinese culture are not** necessarily **incompatible**," he told Deutsche Welle. Moreover, **it is proof** that **democracy does not have to be accompanied by chaos or economic decline**.

**Golden parachutes solves**

**Gilley, 5** -- New School international affairs professor

[Bruce, New School University, former contributing editor at the Far Eastern Economic Review, China’s Democratic Future, 2005, 140-44]

Fortunately, **China will have the odds in its favor**. **The ability of hard-liners to retire peacefully has been a hallmark of extrications**, in contrast to overthrows. The exclusion of radicals in the opposition makes this more palatable at the political level. Moreover, there is a kind of mutual dependence between the interim regime and the ancien regime. **The interim regime** must respect the right to a quiet retirement of the hard-liners because it has one foot in the old order with its backward legality. It also **wants to offer** them a **graceful exit so** that **they will not pose a threat** to the new order. The **hard-liners**, meanwhile, **must recognize the interim regime because it offers them the best hope to avoid** jail, exile, or **death**. **China** had already **established a norm of quiet retirement for purged elites** in the late PRC era. **There is every reason to believe it will be respected again**.

**AT: No Democ Now**

**Yes china democracy is possible- regional democratization proves**

**Gibney 1/15/14** (James, Bloomberg Contributor, “Asian Democracy Surrounds China”, http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2015-01-15/asian-democracy-surrounds-china)

The real threat posed to China by **Rajapaksa's surprising loss**, however, is different. This **marks the third big Asian election in the last 12 months in which voters have installed a new leader**: **first in India,** where Prime Minister Narendra Modi thumped the incumbent Congress Party; **then Indonesia,** where Joko Widodo, an outsider, won over voters with his record of competence as governor of Jakarta; **and now** Maithripala Sirisena's upset victory in **Sri Lanka**. **That kind of turnover at the top must give pause to China's Communist Party leaders**, **who see the mandate of heaven as an institutional birthright.**

**A look at the map is instructive**: As Freedom House notes , "**Over the past five years**, **the Asia-Pacific region has been the only one to record steady gains in political rights and civil liberties**." **On China's border**, autocratic **Myanmar** **has just gone ahead with the first municipal elections** in six decades in Yangon, its biggest city, and plans to hold general elections in late 2015. In **Taiwan**, the ruling Nationalists (who favor closer ties with mainland China) **just got a drubbing in local elections**. In China's near abroad, **Afghanistan's recent election**--for all its flaws**--also marked a significant step forward for its fledgling democracy.**

**China itself is wrestling with how to keep officials honest without a free press**, and how to hold them accountable for their performance without elections. Since Deng Xiaoping's revolutionary ascendance in 1978, China's Communist leadership has made mind-boggling gains in reducing poverty and increasing economic output. But the **severity and extent of President Xi** Jinping's **current anti-corruption campaign**, not to mention its **politically motivated targeting**, **reflect the inevitable shortcomings of China's top-down approach to governance**, which has also imposed enormous costs on its citizens' human freedoms. As an Economist editorial recently noted , the use of targets to ensure bureaucratic performance has led to, among other things, "wasteful overinvestment and environmental disaster … and the illegal barbarism of forced abortions." At the opposite extreme is a remarkable column by the Nobel Prize-winning economist Joseph Stiglitz, who waxes over the one-party state's displacement of the U.S. as the world's largest economy without shedding a single tear over how this was achieved.

## Inherency

### 1NC Shell

#### Inherency: The Affirmative Burden Is To Propose Substantial Change From The Status Quo

Anderson and Taylor, 2003:

(Taylor, M., & Anderson, J. (2003). From jurisdiction to narration: Standards for topicality in parliamentary debate. *National Parliamentary Debate Association, 8,* 81-91. Faculty At California State University, Long Beach)

Controversy Theoretically, "inherency" is a stock issue in policy debate to ensure that the Affirmatives advocacy is something new and/or a chal-lenge to the institutions and policies of the status quo. The Affirmative is given the burden to prove that not only is its opposition to the policy in the status quo, but that that Opposition will prevent any meaningful solution to the problem at hand without the change proposed by the Affirmative. As a result, one function of inherency is to limit the number of topical proposals under any given resolution because the Affirmative assumes the burden to prove that change is necessary to solve the harms cited in their case.

#### Violation

#### A Living Wage For Hong Kong Is $30.00/ Hour; Their Evidence

M.W.C., 2012:

Tong et al, Hong Kong Minimum Wage Commission, “2012 Report of the Minimum Wage Commission,” 2012.

To strike an appropriate balance among the demands of various parties, the MWC adopted an evidence-based approach in reviewing and making recommendation on the SMW rate. We examined the performance of the Basket of Indicators, which covers the socio-economic and employment situations, to grasp the socio-economic conditions during the implementation of the initial SMW rate (see Chapter 3) and its impact (see Chapter 4). We also made reference to the views of stakeholders and interested parties to better understand the impact of the initial SMW rate on society, economy and different sectors (in particular the low paying sectors (LPS)), and concerns expressed on the SMW rate and its review. Based on these views, we brought forth other considerations that are related to the review of the SMW rate but cannot be fully quantified through the Basket of Indicators. We also formulated an assessment framework to estimate the possible impact of different SMW levels on employees, businesses, inflation and unemployment rate (see Chapter 5). As there would inevitably be a time lag between the date of making recommendation and the date of its implementation, we took into account short-term economic and labour market outlook to conduct scenario testing with an attempt to have more thorough consideration when reviewing the SMW rate. We held in-depth, objective and rational discussions with regard to the considerations mentioned above and went through iterative dialectical deliberations. Having regard to the objectives enshrined in our statutory function, we unanimously reached a consensus on the recommendation of adjusting the SMW rate upwards to $30.0 per hour (by $2.0 or 7.1%).

#### The Current Minimum Wage In Hong Kong Is $30/ Hour

POLI, 2014:

(The Minimum Wage: The End Of Hong Kong As We Knew It. POLI3019: Hong Kong and the World 2014. Citing An Article Published By The Economist)

In July 2010, Hong Kong’s Legislative Council approved a minimum-wage law, which took effect on 1 May 2011. Under the law, the Chief Executive proposes a minimum wage (HK$28 an hour when the law went into effect; since May 2013, HK$30 an hour), which Legco can either approve or reject but cannot amend. The law does not apply to foreign domestic helpers, whose compensation is governed by other existing statutes. This 15 July 2010 Economist essay argues that the introduction of a minimum wage in Hong Kong is the thin edge of the wedge, “the end of a remarkable economic experiment”: Even at the low end of expectations, it will be about HK$1 more than leading fast-food outlets often pay—a good guide to market conditions—so many poorly paid people will get a boost. Legislation will then be introduced to limit working hours. Following that a push is expected for collective bargaining, a right granted by the colonial government just before the handover but reversed immediately after it… Secondary consequences are inevitable. Miriam Lau, a Liberal member of the legislature, says that even at HK$24 an hour, the minimum wage would cost 30,000 jobs, or 1% of the workforce. At HK$32, 170,000 jobs would go, doubling unemployment. Young people and immigrants from China, who are scooped by the territory’s abundant restaurants, building sites and cleaning and delivery businesses, would be the likeliest to be out of work. Such industries also employ disabled and older workers on low pay. Subsidies to support such people may have to be expanded if they lose their jobs. The minimum wage will also expand the rules involved in doing business in Hong Kong…The minimum wage will increase the demand for paperwork again, and by a lot. Hours and wages will be filed for all workers, right down to people in the knick-knack shops and markets that have been a vibrant component of Hong Kong’s economy. The government will have to spend more money on collecting data and inspecting firms. The article concludes: Many recent shifts in the law have elements of social policy, and many of the most vocal advocates of the shift reflect the opening of the political system, creating pressure for real problems to be addressed. Hong Kong remains, by and large, a vibrant, entrepreneurial place, with government spending far below Western standards. The costs of rising intervention will take a while to appear—and may always be hard to measure, especially with mainland China growing so fast. Yet a remarkable economic experiment is at an end. Overreaction? Or insightful? Has the adoption of a minimum wage turned out to be a positive or negative turning point for Hong Kong?

#### Even If A Wage Hike Is Necessary, It’s Coming In The Status Quo. As Of May 1st, Hong Kong Will Raise The Minimum Wage To $32.50/ Hour

H.S.F., 2015:

(Second Minimum Wage Increase In Hong Kong. January 22, 2015. Herbert Smith Free Hills Dispute Resolution, Business Analyst Firm)

On 16 January 2015, the Chief Executive in Council gazetted a legal notice to increase the statutory minimum wage in Hong Kong for the second time. Hong Kong’s minimum wage is therefore set to increase from its current rate of HK$30 per hour, to HK$32.50 per hour (equivalent to US$4.20 per hour). Subject to the Legislative Council’s approval, the new rate is expected to come into force on 1 May 2015. To reflect the amendment, the monthly monetary cap on recording the total number of hours worked will also increase from HK$12,300 to HK$13,300 per month. Employers found guilty of failing to pay at least the minimum wage to their employees are liable to pay a fine of HK$350,000 and to imprisonment for three years. Employers should therefore ensure they update their payroll systems where necessary to reflect the increased rate of pay. In addition, the Minimum Wage Ordinance requires the Minimum Wage Commission to report certain statistics to the Chief Executive in Council at least once every 2 years. In its 2014 report, the Minimum Wage Commission reported that: there are currently approximately 150,000 employees in Hong Kong who earn less than HK$32.50 per hour; employers will be required to pay an additional HK$1.36 billion per year due to the new minimum wage rate; and the new minimum wage rate would lead to a 0.2% increase in the current rate of unemployment rate.

#### $32.50/ Hour Is In Line With The Most Recent Recommendation Of Their Author, The MWC

M.W.C., 2015:

(Minimum Wage Commission Delighted By Acceptance Of Its Recommended Statutory Minimum Wage Rate. January 14, 2015. Press Released By The Minimum Wage Commission. <http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201501/14/P201501140291.htm>)

The following is issued on behalf of the Minimum Wage Commission: After carrying out detailed analyses, in-depth assessment and thorough consideration, the Minimum Wage Commission (MWC) has by unanimous consensus recommended that the current Statutory Minimum Wage (SMW) rate of $30.0 per hour be raised to $32.5 per hour. "We are delighted to learn that the Chief Executive (CE) in Council has accepted our recommendation on the SMW rate after considering the report of the MWC," the MWC Chairperson, Mr Jat Sew-tong, SC, said today (January 14). The MWC is tasked to report to the CE in Council with its recommendation on the SMW rate. In performing its function, MWC must have regard to the need to maintain an appropriate balance between the objectives of forestalling excessively low wages and minimising the loss of low-paid jobs, and the need to sustain Hong Kong's economic growth and competitiveness. The full text of the "2014 Report of the Minimum Wage Commission" has been uploaded onto MWC's website (www.mwc.org.hk). Ends/Wednesday, January 14, 2015

#### The New Rate Will Apply To Earnings Of Up To $13, 300/ Month. An Increase To $32.50/ Hour Will Definitely Take Effect On May 1st

Abate and Tran, 2015:

(Hong Kong: Increased Minimum Wage Rate To Take Effect 1 May 2015 in Hong Kong. January 29, 2015. Duncan A.W. Abate, Hon Tran, Analysts For Mayer Brown, A Global Legal Services Organization)

On 16 January 2015, notice was gazetted to adjust the Statutory Minimum Wage ("SMW") rate to HK$32.5 per hour (up from the current HK$30 per hour). It is anticipated that the new rate will come into effect on 1 May 2015. To reflect the change to the SMW rate, the current HK$12,300 monthly cap (above which is not necessary to keep a written record of hours worked) will be increased to HK$13,300 per month. Employers should take steps to update their payroll procedures to reflect this change.

#### This Is More Than A Living Wage; Basic Expenses In Hong Kong Are $9,800 Per Month

Chabe, 2014:

(What Is The Minimum Salary Needed To Live A Decent Life In Hong Kong?, Published By Quora.com. Julien Chabe, IT Project Manager At The Hong Kong Jockey Club.. 2014)

Given that flat and food account for 80% of your expenses it highly depends on what you want to eat and where & in what you want to live. Flat : you can pay as little as 3000 hkd if you find roomates in a flat in Tin Hau, Jordan, Yau Ma Tei, Sheung Wan, Mongkok, Prince Edward for example or you can go for your own flat in the same area for 8000 hkd for maybe 400 sq feet or 12000 for maybe 550 sq ft. I would be you i would opt for the cheap solution until i know the place and make a better choice. So let's say you pay 4000 hkd. Food : wanna eat noodles every day or wanna eat western food. The bill won't be the same. You can eat for 35 hkd per lunch / dinner if you eat local, cook by yourself pasta / chicken... or you can go to Citysuper / Great and spend like 70 hkd per lunch / diner (you cook your food). Basically you will spend between 3000 and 9000 hkd on food per month. So let's say you spend 5000 hkd Transportation : it can be quite of a budget too. Depending what you need to use, between 600 and 1500 hkd per month. Let's say you spend 800 hkd. Total = 9800 hkd. So you wage should be at least 14000 hkd given that you can have side expenses.

#### Independently, The Squo Solves Their Offense. The Statutory Minimum Wage Regime Ensures Regular Wage Hikes, And Yes, It’s Indexed To Inflation

M.W.C., 2014:

(2014 Report Of The Minimum Wage Commission. Minimum Wage Commission For The Government Of Hong Kong)

**Background and Statutory Function** 1.1 The Minimum Wage Bill was passed by the Legislative Council on 17 July 2010, laying the legal foundation for Statutory Minimum Wage (SMW). The initial SMW rate was set at $28.0 per hour and implemented on 1 May 2011. 1.2 The Minimum Wage Commission (MWC) is an independent statutory body established under Part 3 of the Minimum Wage Ordinance (MWO) (Chapter 608 of the Laws of Hong Kong) with the main function to, when required by the Chief Executive (CE) to do so, report its recommendation about the SMW rate to CE in Council. 1.3 MWO stipulates that in performing its function, MWC must have regard to the need: (a) to maintain an appropriate balance between the objectives of forestalling excessively low wages and minimising the loss of low-paid jobs; and (b) to sustain Hong Kong’s economic growth and competitiveness. 1.4 The first term of MWC (2011-13) adopted an evidence-based approach in reviewing the SMW rate. After conducting extensive consultation, prudent and objective deliberations as well as iterative discussions, the first term of MWC reached a consensus and submitted its report to CE in Council in October 2012, recommending that the SMW rate be adjusted upwards from $28.0 per hour to $30.0 per hour. The recommendation was endorsed by CE in Council and the relevant subsidiary legislation was passed by the Legislative Council. The revised SMW rate (i.e. $30.0 per hour) was implemented on 1 May 2013. **1.II Composition and Membership List** 1.5 Members of the current term of MWC (2013-15) were appointed by CE with a two-year tenure starting from 1 March 2013. Among them, the nine non-official members were appointed on an ad personam basis, with three members drawn equally each from the labour, business and academic sectors respectively. Secretariat support to MWC is provided by the Labour Department and the Economic Analysis and Business Facilitation Unit of the Financial Secretary’s Office. Membership of the current term of MWC is as follows: Chairperson Mr JAT Sew Tong, S.B.S., S.C., J.P. Non-official Members (\*) Professor Alfred CHAN Cheung Ming, B.B.S., J.P. Mr Bankee KWAN Pak Hoo Mr LAU Chin Shek, J.P. Ms LAU Ka Shi, B.B.S. Professor LEUNG Siu Fai Ms LI Fung Ying, S.B.S., J.P. Professor SUEN Wing Chuen Mr Simon WONG Kit Lung, J.P. Mr Kingsley WONG Kwok, J.P. Official Members Permanent Secretary for Labour and Welfare Miss Annie TAM Kam Lan, J.P. Permanent Secretary for Commerce and Economic Development (Commerce, Industry and Tourism) Mr Andrew WONG Ho Yuen, J.P. Government Economist Mrs Helen CHAN, J.P. Secretary Chief Labour Officer (Statutory Minimum Wage) Mr William MAK Chi Tung **2 Work of the Minimum Wage Commission 2.I Underlying Principles in Discharging the Function 2.I.1 In conformity with the statutory function** 2.1 According to the Minimum Wage Ordinance (MWO) (Chapter 608 of the Laws of Hong Kong), the main function of the Minimum Wage Commission (MWC) is, when required by the Chief Executive (CE) to do so, to report its recommendation about the amount of the prescribed minimum hourly wage rate (the Statutory Minimum Wage (SMW) rate) to CE in Council. After considering the work and time involved for MWC to review and report its recommendation on the SMW rate, CE has, in accordance with MWO, required MWC to submit the recommendation report about the SMW rate on or before 31 October 2014. 2.2 MWO also stipulates that in performing its function, MWC must have regard to the need to maintain an appropriate balance between the objectives of forestalling excessively low wages and minimising the loss of low-paid jobs, and the need to sustain Hong Kong’s economic growth and competitiveness. Before making a recommendation about the SMW rate, MWC may conduct consultation, analyse and study data and information, and consider views from various sectors. 2.3 SMW has impacts on various aspects including the labour market, society and economy. Various sectors of the community also have diverse views and concerns about the review of the SMW rate. To conform with the statutory function of MWC and maintain an appropriate balance among its various objectives mentioned above, when reviewing the SMW rate, MWC not only made reference to the statistics in an Array of Indicators, but also studied the findings of other surveys and fully considered the views on the review of the SMW rate from various sectors of the community so as to recommend an appropriate SMW rate. 2.I.2 Evidence-based approach 2.4 To deliberate the SMW rate in an objective and balanced manner, MWC adopted an evidence-based approach by conducting comprehensive analyses on the information and data of surveys and research studies, examining the latest conditions of various Page 24 2014 Report of the Minimum Wage Commission Chapter 2: Work of the Minimum Wage Commission aspects of Hong Kong, and taking full account of the views from various sectors of society. In reviewing the SMW rate, the information and data to which we made reference came from: (1) statistical surveys and thematic study, including the Annual Earnings and Hours Survey (AEHS) and Annual Survey of Economic Activities (ASEA) conducted by the Census and Statistics Department (C&SD), the 2013 Study on Impact of Revised Statutory Minimum Wage Rate on Pay Hierarchies in the Retail and Restaurant Sectors commissioned by the Government, as well as a large number of other relevant data which were released and updated more frequently (please refer to paragraph 2.11) so as to consider the latest situation and trend; (2) empirical data, views and information provided by stakeholders and members of the public during the consultation conducted by MWC; (3) research and studies on experience of reviewing minimum wage rates in other places; and (4) relevant academic journals. After making reference to the above information and data, we also conducted impact assessment under different hourly wage test levels so as to recommend an appropriate SMW rate.

#### Standards

#### Without inherency, they can’t solve and they create a world where debate only focuses on bureaucratic trivia. AND, Existential Inherency Isn’t Enough. Specific Explanations Of Inherency Are Key To Real-World Education.

Paterno 94

[Jim, coach at Puyallup High School, WA, Rostrum March 94, www.nflonline.org/Rostrum/MarNinetyFourPaterno]

Perhaps the myth of policy makers never voting on inherency has been abusively extrapolated from the desires of a true policy-maker: discovering solutions that solve problems and implementing a plan of action with desirable side-effects. As such, it seems logical to focus the debate on what can be done rather than on why it is not being done currently in the status quo. However, one must realize that such a sterile analysis is premature, failing to account for the initial steps of the problem solving process. The result of which is the practice of instrumentalism, described by James Rule (1971) as "the concentration on the adequacy of means rather than the moral quality of the ends being sought." Thus, the policy maker who fails to consider inherency constructs, perpetuates a system which focuses on the means and not the ends. Avoidance of instrumentalism and the implementation of successful policies is achieved through the sound identification of what is being sought, the desired end-state. James Wilson (1967) contends that "the only point at which very much leverage can be gained on the problem is when we decide what it is we are trying to accomplish." For example, if the problem of hunger in the United States is being attacked, the effective policy -- maker envisions the end-state desired: the ability of individuals to feed themselves and/or their families. With this as the target objective it is clear why hunger still exists in America--policies are directed at giving food to the hungry, not at enabling individuals to provide for their own food needs. Thus it is evident that any problem being attacked must begin with a clear delineation of objectives, a clear statement of the desired endstate. Simply saying something is a problem, treating the symptoms and ignoring the causes does little to solve problems. One way of deciding what the end-result should be is to examine what it is not. This is where inherency comes into play. While the surface question of inherency might be what is preventing the affirmative plan, the answer is a much deeper analysis of the status quo. Even policy makers are concerned with why a problem exists, for without the cause how could any plan to solve be identified and adopted? In addition, the policy maker in search of a solution will always ask certain basic questions: why does the problem exist? what is the probable cause? who is affected? Such questions relate to the first and second steps of problem solving outlined by Gaw and Sayer (1979): defining the nature of the problem and analyzing the problem for causes and effects. Policy makers also subscribe to the third step of problem solving: suggesting solutions. Note the plurality of solution. Policy makers brainstorm a variety of answers to problems and then examine each one carefully. Thus, the inherency burdens of "has it been done before" and "why isn't it being done now" comes into question. Good policy makers seek to learn from the past -both successes and failures. It makes little sense to duplicate a past effort that has failed, unless of course the causes of failure have been removed or accounted for in the new proposal. All of this is not to say that the affirmative must propose ten or fifteen different policies for consideration. It does, however, suggest that an affirmative be able to respond to past efforts, similar efforts currently being practiced, and how preventative structures -- attitudinal, structural, or motivational - are being overcome or accounted for in the affirmative plan. Moreover, if the status quo is doing the affirmative, even on a small scale, the burden to show the value of duplication is high. Double efforts do not necessarily yield double results. In fact, the two can work against each other, fighting for resources, diminishing the others competitiveness to bolster one's own efforts, etc. Inherency in this line of argumentation is the policy making judge's a priori issue, if she is truly seeking to achieve a superior policy that provides desirable side-effects with minimal disadvantages.

#### 2) Purely Existential Inherency Is A Voting Issue; If They Don’t Have A Specific Explanation For Inherency, Then You Vote Negative On Presumption

Zarefsky 87

[David Zarefsky, Professor and Associate Dean of Northwestern University, ADVANCED DEBATE, 1987, p.211]

Similarly, inherency becomes a crucial consideration. Some answer must be offered to the causal question, “Absent the action envisioned by the proposition, why would presumably good people tolerate evil?” It will not do to report “the facts” and then to infer, without analysis, the existence of some causal force that would be removed if the action stated in 0the proposition were taken. The reason is that there are other, equally plausible, inferences which can be made from the same data. For example, policymakers simply may not yet perceive a situation as a problem. Or they may have determined that the problem cannot be solved. Or they may have concluded that, on balance, solving the problem would bring about far worse consequences than the evils which would be removed. Each of these inferences, because it offers a different interpretation of reality, stands as an alternate hypothesis that must be defeated in order to provide a unique defense of the proposition. To defeat the alternatives, the affirmative will need to answer the causal question which is at the base of the analysis of inherency.

### NR (Extensions)

#### Lack of specific inherency denies us key links – they have a positive obligation to cite specific barriers

Trumble 10

[David J. Trumble, Saint Anselm College, National Forensic Journal, 28(1), Spring]

Inherency is an essential part of an affirmative case because it answers the root cause issues of why the status quo is not solving the problem. It is proof of these root causes that insures the negative has fair ground for links to plan attacks. The affirmative must either address those root causes of inherency in the first affirmative constructive, be willing to provide complete answers if confronted with such questions during cross examination, or concede the discussion of the root causes to the negative.

#### Existential inherency leads to plans that replicate the squo. The impact is vacuous debate, bad education, and massive aff bias.

Trumble 10

[David J. Trumble, Saint Anselm College, National Forensic Journal, 28(1), Spring]

The problem with existential inherency is that if inherency need not be a prima facie issue, and if adopting the plan one day sooner or providing existing services to one more person is inherent, and the affirmative is not obligated to take a stand on the root causes of the problem in cross-examination, then we will encourage affirmative debaters to run status quo cases, as a strategy to effectively reduce negative ground to topicality, politics disadvantages, and plan specification arguments. Our theories should not just be developed on paper. They must also serve the larger purposes of the activity itself. As we decide which theories we will adopt and modify, we should be mindful of their impact on encouraging argumentative clash about the topic’s major issues and their impact on maintaining competitive equity. Debate is neither all game nor all education - it is both. Our rules and theories should promote both. Eliminating the role of inherency serves neither the competitive nor the educational purposes of the activity.

#### Existential inherency denies key neg links and prevents real-world debate

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The basic problem with existential inherency is that it does not prove that the status quo will not solve the problem if left alone. This is important because it allows the affirmative to avoid discussing why the problem is inherent. There is no discussion of how the status quo arrived at the place where it now stands, whether the status quo is static or moving, and why the status quo will not change in the direction of the affirmative plan. In a general sense, we have to understand history in order to make sure that we learn from its lessons. In a debate sense, it is understanding why the status quo behaves as it does, that allows the negative debater to develop case-specific and relevant plan attacks. To avoid that discussion would be a poor way to make public policy in the real world. In the debate world, it reduces the educational strength of the activity and skews the debate in favor of the affirmative.

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